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Sabin's Reprints.

No. VI.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FIRST DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT
OF
VIRGINIA.

BY
WILLIAM STITH, A. M.



NEW YORK:
REPRINTED FOR JOSEPH SABIN.

1865.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES PRINTED.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE.

THE Original Documents from which much of this valuable work was compiled having been lately destroyed, and the work itself being scarce, it is hoped its reproduction will be an acceptable contribution to American History.

Two Editions of the work have been published; the First, or Williamsburg Edition (of which this is a reprint), in 1747, and the London Reprint in 1753.

In the "Historical Magazine," Vol. II., page 184, a writer, under the pseudonym of B. FRANKLIN, describes what he considers *Two* Williamsburg Editions, but which were, in reality, the Editions of 1747 and 1753, but probably having titles alike.

In the same Magazine, Vol. V., page 350, D. P. S [MITH] attempts to point out the difference in the Editions, but falls into a double error: first, in describing the *Fine Paper* Williamsburg Edition as corresponding with the London Edition in Type, Lines, Pages, and Ornaments; and second, in stating that the "Poor Paper Williamsburg Edition" differs from the Fine Paper of the same place and date.

As I have the *three* varieties now before me, I will endeavour to describe them.

The First, or Williamsburg Edition, of 1747, appears to have been printed on two varieties of paper, both the same size, and both *laid*, one being thicker than the other. The Signatures, Catchwords, Ornaments, &c., agreeing exactly with each other, and the error on page 104, which is printed 410, being alike in each.

Signature S is mispaged. It should read 257 instead of 247, and so on to the end, adding 10 pages to the whole number (331) as they appear in this reprint.

The second Edition has the following Title :—"The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of *Virginia*. By WILLIAM STITH, A. M., President of the College of *William and Mary* in *Virginia*. *Tanta molis erat * * * condere gentem*. Virg. *Virginia*, Printed: London, Reprinted for S. BIRT, in *Ave-Mary-Lane*. M.DCC.LIII."

The Number of Pages, Signatures, &c., is the same as in the Williamsburg Edition. The pagination runs on regularly up to page 304, then the *recto* of Signature X is paged 295, and so on till it terminates at page 331 (for 341) as in the other Edition.

The Paper and Types are the same as the Williamsburg Fine Paper, but in other respects there are several variations.

On pages 1, 35, 101, 175, and 176, the Ornaments differ.

On pages 21 and 119, the London Edition has Signature marks not in the other.

On pages 33, 73, 82, 84, 86, 89, 98, 99, 131, 171, 178, 179, 206, 208, 214, 225, 233, 238, and 244, the Catchwords differ; while Signature X appears to be precisely the same in each Edition, and in my copy of the London Edition, the paper in *this* Signature differs from the rest of the volume.

On page 308 of the Williamsburg Edition, there is a line across the page, over the foot-note. This is omitted in the London Edition.

On page 2 of the Appendix, the capital J is in Roman—in the London Edition it is in Italic.

JOSEPH SABIN.

NEW YORK, 1865.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
First DISCOVERY
AND
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OF
VIRGINIA:

BEING

An ESSAY towards a General
HISTORY of this COLONY.

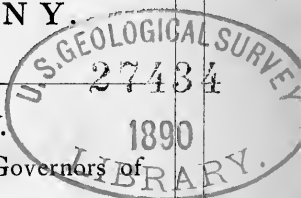
By WILLIAM STITH, A. M.

Rector of *Henrico* Parish, and one of the Governors of
William and Mary COLLEGE.

*Tantæ molis erat *** condere gentem.* Virg.

WILLIAMSBURG:

Printed by WILLIAM PARKS, M,DCC,XLVII.

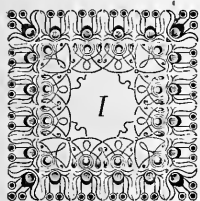


THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



THE

P R E F A C E.



HERE present the Reader with the first Part of my History of our own Country. When I had left my laborious Employment at the College, and began to enjoy a little Leisure; I could not think myself wholly discharged from the Service of the Publick. As therefore my late Uncle, Sir John Randolph, had purposed to write a Preface to our Laws, and therein to give an Historical Account of our Constitution and Government, but was prevented from prosecuting it to Effect, by his many and weighty Publick Employments, and by the vast Burthen of private Business from his Clients, I thought the History of Virginia would be no mean or unacceptable Undertaking. For such a Work, well performed, must naturally be a great Satisfaction, and even Ornament, to our Country. Besides which, I was farther induced by some other Reasons. It is now an hundred and forty Years, since the first Discovery and Settlement of Virginia; and as many useful Papers and Records, relating to our History, may probably be found at present, which will perhaps be lost hereafter, I conceived it high time, that something material should be attempted in it. For I need not say, how empty and unsatisfactory every thing, yet published upon the Subject, is; excepting the excellent but confused Materials, left us in Captain Smith's History.

I speak not this with the Pride and Malevolence of an Author, that would raise his own Reputation by depreciating his Brother Writers; but it is a Censure most justly due to those, who have yet meddled with our History, and which I, for my own Part, owe them, for the Vexation and Disappointment I met with, in reading their Works. And I can farther declare with great Truth, that had any thing of Consequence been done in our History, I could most willingly have saved myself the Trouble, of conning over our old musty Re-

cords, and of studying, connecting, and reconciling the jarring and disjointed Writings and Relations of different Men and different Parties. However, I was sorry to see all our Hopes at an End by the Death of Sir John Randolph; and was unwilling the Design should be entirely abandoned, and that our History should still remain in its old Confusion and Uncertainty. I had also, by my Intimacy with that Gentleman, had the Sight and Perusal of many excellent Materials in his Hands; and thought, I could not handsomely be denied the Use of any thing else to my Purpose, either in our publick Offices, or the Possession of private Gentlemen.

I may further add, that I at present enjoy a perfect Leisure and Retirement, and am not burthened with any publick Post or Office. So that such a Work will be a noble and elegant Entertainment for my vacant Hours, which it is not in my Power to employ, more to my own Satisfaction, or the Use and Benefit of my Country.

*AS to my Helps in carrying on this Work, besides De Brye's Edition of Harriot's Treatise and With's Cuts and Maps, and besides casual Assistances from such Parts of Purchas, as I could procure, from Dr. Heylen, and other things in Print, the inquisitive Reader will easily perceive, how much of this Volume is founded on Captain Smith's Materials. They are large and good, and of unquestionable Authority, for what is related, whilst he staid in the Country. But they are however, as I before observed, vastly confused and perplexed, and took me more Labour and Pains to digest them, than I at first expected. The latter Part of his History also, especially from Captain Argall's Government, is liable to some just Suspicion. Not that I question Captain Smith's Integrity; for I take him to have been a very honest Man, and a strenuous Lover of Truth. But being himself absent in those times upon other Projects, and having an Acquaintance and Friendship with Sir Thomas Smith and Captain Argall, he seems chiefly to have depended upon them and their Friends, for his Account of things. And particularly, his Account of Captain Argall's Government is expressly taken from himself, and from a Relation of Mr. Rolfe's. Besides which, it is evident that his Mind was somewhat eagered by the Neglects shewn him, and by the Refusal of some just Reward for his many and great Services. So that he does not seem much inclined, to think well of the Company or their Proceedings. And such Prejudices and Partialities do silently and imperceptibly slide into the best and honestest Minds; and ought therefore to be carefully watched and guarded against by all Men, but especially by Historians. But from whatever Cause it proceeded, it is certain, that he gave a very wrong Idea of Captain Argall and
his*

his Government, and of the Reasons of the Dissolution of the Company, in which he has been implicitly followed by all our succeeding Historians. And I would not have the Reader surprised to find my Account of those Particulars, so very different from all others, yet in Print. For I assure him, there is not one Article, scarce a Word, in my Relation, which is not founded on the express Testimony, and the incontestible Authority, of our Records in the Capitol, and the Company's Journals.

FOR besides these printed Accounts, I have had the greatest and most considerable Assistancess from authentick Manuscripts. Sir John Randolph's Collection of publick Papers, and the Capitol Records, have been of no little Use to me, and will be still of greater Service and Consequence in the Prosecution of the Work. But I must confess myself most indebted, in this Part of my History, to a very full and fair Manuscript of the London Company's Records, which was communicated to me by the late worthy President of our Council, the Honourable William Byrd, Esq; . Neither could I well excuse myself, if I did not likewise acknowledge, with what Humanity and Politeness, that well bred Gentleman and Scholar, not only communicated those Manuscripts to me, but also threw open his Library (the best and most copious Collection of Books in our Part of America) and was himself even studious and solicitous, to search out and give me, whatever might be useful to my Undertaking.

AS these Records are a very curious and valuable Piece of the Antiquities of our Country, I shall give the Reader an Account of them, which I received, many Years ago, in Conversation with Col. Byrd and Sir John Randolph. I had then no Thoughts of writing the History of Virginia, and therefore took less Notice, than I otherwise should have done. However, as I am perhaps the only Person now living, any thing acquainted with their History, it will not be improper to give it to the Reader, as I judge it highly worthy of his Knowledge.

THESE Records are a Journal of the Company's Proceedings, from Day to Day; and are written in two large Folio Volumes, on a Kind of Elephant Paper, generally in a very fair and legible Hand. Each Page is subscribed by Edward Collingwood, the Company's Secretary, thus; Com. Collingwood, which is, as I take it, Compared, Collingwood. Besides which, there is a Testification at the End of each Volume. At the End of the first, under the Hands of Edward Waterhouse and Edward Collingwood, Secretaries of the two Companies for Virginia and the Somer-Islands, that they had compared that with the Original Court-Book, and
found

found it to be a true and perfect Copy of the same, except the Omission of one Court and Part of another. The second Volume is signed by the said Secretary Collingwood and Thomas Collet, of the Middle Temple, Gentleman, testifying the same thing, except in a few immaterial Points, where were wanted some Original Papers: These Volumes only contain the Company's Proceedings for a little above five Years, viz. from April 28, 1619 to June 7, 1624; including the whole Time of Sir Edwin Sandys's and the Earl of Southampton's Administration. However they are not a brief and summary Entry of the principal Points and Matters concluded upon, according to the common Methods of Courts, but give, at length, the chief Speeches, Reasons, and Debates, that happened in their Courts, during that time. And as it was a Period of vast Contest and Dispute, they often recur back to former Times and Transactions, and thereby give us a clear Idea and Account of the chief Matters and Proceedings of the Company, almost from it's first Institution and Foundation.

THIS Copy was taken, by the Order, and for the Use, of the Earl of Southampton, the Company's Treasurer at that time; who seeing, how things were going with the Company, had their Records thus carefully copied and compared, and authentically attested. Whether his Lordship intended to stand Suit with the King for the Rights and Privileges of the Company, or whether he did it only in Vindication of his own and the Company's Reputation, is uncertain. However they were carefully preserved in the Family; and as the Original Court-Books were taken from the Company by the King and Privy Council, and never again restored to them, that I can find, but probably destroyed or lost, this is perhaps the only Copy, now extant. After the Death of that Earl's Son, the Duke of Southampton (the worthy Partner in the Ministry with the Earl of Clarendon, after the Restoration) which happened in the Year 1667, the late Col. Byrd's Father, being then in England, purchased them of his Executors, for sixty Guineas. And thus have they been handed down, to clear the Honour and Uprightness of the Actions of that Nobleman and the Company, and to the full Conviction of King James's arbitrary and oppressive Proceedings against them:

I therefore hope, my Freedom with that King's Character, will need no Apology. For if more than a Century is not enough to un-solomonise that silly Monarch, I must give up all my Notions of things. A King's Character, whilst he lives, is, and ought to be sacred, because his Authority depends upon it. But when his Authority, the Reason of it's being sacred, determines, the Inviolableness of his Character is also at an End. And I take it to be the main Part of the
Duty

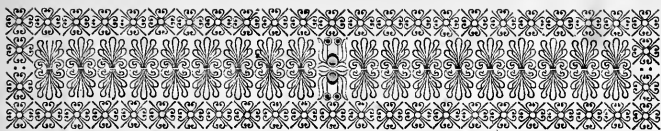
Duty and Office of an Historian, to paint Men and Things in their true and lively Colours; and to do that Justice to the Vices and Follies of Princes and great Men, after their Death, which it is not safe or proper to do, whilst they are alive. And herein, as I judge, chiefly consist the Strength and Excellency of Tacitus and Suetonius. Their Stile and Manner are far inferior to Livy's, and the Writers of the Julian and Augustan Ages. But they have more than painted, and exposed alive to View, the greatest Train of Monsters, that ever disgraced a Throne, or did Dishonour to human Nature; and thereby have obtained to themselves a Rank, among the best and most valuable Writers. King James I. fell indeed far short of the Cæsar's superlative Wickedness and Supremacy in Vice. He was, at best, only very simple and injudicious, without any steady Principle of Justice and Honour; which was rendered the more odious and ridiculous, by his large and constant Pretensions to Wisdom and Virtue. And he had, in Truth, all the Forms of Wisdom; for ever erring very learnedly, with a wise Saw, or Latin Sentence, in his Mouth. For he had been bred up under Buchanan, one of the brightest Genius's and most accomplished Scholars of that Age, who had given him Greek and Latin in great Waste and Profusion, but it was not in his Power to give him good Sense. That is the Gift of God and Nature alone, and is not to be taught; and Greek and Latin without it, only cumber and overload a weak Head, and often render the Fool more abundantly foolish. I must therefore confess, that I have ever had, from my first Acquaintance with History, a most contemptible Opinion of this Monarch; which has perhaps been much heightened and increased, by my long studying and conning over the Materials of this History. For he appears, in his Dealings with the Company, to have acted with such mean Arts and Fraud, and such little Tricking, as highly misbecome Majesty. And I am much mistaken, if his arbitrary Proceedings and unjust Designs will appear from any Part of his History more fully, than from these Transactions with the Company and Colony; which have been thus far unknown to the English Historians, and will perhaps be still thought too insignificant for their Notice. However I hope, my speaking my Mind thus sincerely and impartially will give no Umbrage or Offence to any Man, or Party of Men. For I declare myself to be of no Party; but have laboured solely with a View, to find out and relate the Truth. And as for King James I. I think and speak of him, with the same Freedom and Indifferency, that I would think and speak of any other Man, long since dead; and therefore I have no way restrained my Stile, in freely exposing his weak and injurious Proceedings

IN

IN the succeeding Parts of this History, I am afraid; I shall meet with much greater Difficulties, than I have yet encountered. For I must chiefly depend on such of our Records, as are still extant. Many of them doubtless perished in the State-house at James-Town, and by other Accidents; and those, which have survived the Flames and Injuries of Time, have been so carelessly kept, are so broken, interrupted, and deficient, have been so mangled by Moths and Worms, and lie in such a confused and jumbled State (at least the most ancient of them) being huddled together in single Leaves and Sheets in Books out of the Binding, that I foresee, it will cost me infinite Pains and Labour, to reduce and digest them into any tolerable Order, so as to form from them a just and connected Narration. And some of them have been lost, even since Mr. Hickman was Clerk of the Secretary's Office. For I cannot find, among the Papers in our Offices, some old Rolls, to which he refers. I have therefore been obliged, in a few Points, to depend upon the Fidelity of that Gentleman's Extracts out of our oldest Records, made for the Use of Sir John Randolph. But these things were so far from discouraging and rebuffing me, that they were rather an additional Spur to my Industry. For I thought it highly necessary, before they were entirely lost and destroyed, to apply them to their proper Use, the forming a good History. But as the House of Burgesses, in a late Session, upon my shewing their moldering and dangerous State to some of the Members, have justly taken them into their Consideration, and have ordered them to be reviewed and fairly transcribed, I doubt not, by their Assistance, and with the Help of the late Sir John Randolph's Papers, and such others, as are in the Hands of private Gentlemen in the Country, and will undoubtedly be readily communicated to further so noble and so useful a Design, to be able to collect and compose a tolerably regular and complete History of our Country.

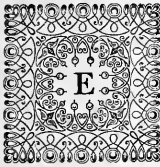
Varina, Dec. 10, 1746.





THE
HISTORY
OF
VIRGINIA.

BOOK I.

VERY Country hath it's Fables concerning it's Original, which give great Scope to light and fanciful Historians, but are usually passed over with a slight Mention by the solid and judicious. The late Discovery of *America*, in historical and well-known Times, might, one would think, have exempted it from this common Fate of Nations. Yet such is the Pride of some Men to seem of deep Reach and Insight, and to strike out things untouched and unthought of by others, and such their preposterous Delight in groping after Truth in the Dark, and yet neglecting her in the clear and meridian Brightness of Day, that even this new World hath been endowed with it's fabulous Age, and old Tales revived, or new ones invented, to stretch it's Antiquities beyond *Columbus*, and the short Date of two hundred and fifty Years. We are therefore told of one *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian* Captain, who made a Voyage to *America*. But in what Age he lived, or upon what Authority or Pretext the Story is grounded, I have not been yet able fully to discover. Even the monstrous Legends of *Arthur*, *Malgo*,

and *Madock*, a *Welch* Prince, and of the Friar of *Lynne*, who by his black Art transported himself to the Northern Parts of *America*, have found Men weak enough to be the Relators and Propagators of them. *Plato's* Fable also of the *Atlantick* Islands has been applied to this Subject; and *Seneca* the Tragedian, who could never yet obtain from the Criticks a firm Rank among the best and most approved Classicks, hath nevertheless been acknowledged by the Historians as a true Prophet, and some Verses of his quoted, as containing a prediction of the future Discovery and Settlement of *America*. But as I have ever had an utter Contempt and Aversion for all such learned Trumpery, and have often been disgusted and concerned to see Authors, otherwise of Judgment and Genius, carried by their Credulity too far into those dark and uncertain Tracts of Time, I shall leave these, with other Stories of the like Nature, to their first Authors or Inventors, and shall apply myself to give a plain and exact History of our Country, ever regarding Truth as the first requisite and principal Virtue in an Historian, and relating nothing without a sufficient Warrant and Authority.

THE *European* Nations had continued, through all Ages, in the most profound Ignorance of all the rest of the World, except the best Part of *Europe*, and the most obvious and adjacent Countries of *Asia* and *Africa*. And although the attractive Power of the Loadstone had been long known and observed, yet it's Poles, and the wonderful Qualities and Inclination of the magnetical Needle, were still a Secret, till it seemed good to Divine Providence, that one *John Gioia*, of *Amalfi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, discovered them about the Year 1300. This important Discovery lay long useless, without any Application to Navigation; neither can we certainly say, who first turned it to this great End. However the Use of the Sea-Compass crept in by Degrees, and was undoubtedly the grand Instrument and Foundation of all these later Discoveries.

THE *Portuguese* was the first Nation of *Europe*, that engaged in maritime Expeditions, in order to explore and discover the unknown Parts of the World. For Prince *Henry* of *Portugal*, in the Year 1417, sent two small Barks to make Discoveries along the Coast of *Africa*; which Beginning, having some Success, was afterwards prosecuted, during the Life of that Prince, under his Auspices and Direction. After his Death, they still advanced by Degrees in their Trade and Discoveries, till at length in the Year 1486 they reached the Cape of *Good-Hope*. But it was 1497, five Years after the Discovery of *America*, before
Vasco

Vasco de Gama, by the Command, and in the Service, of *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, sailed round that Cape to the *East-Indies*.

Christopher Columbus, a *Genoesse* by Birth, a Person of great Knowledge and Experience in naval Affairs, of good Learning, and a comprehensive Mind, and being also led perhaps by the late Discoveries of the *Portuguese*, was strongly possessed with a Notion of some Lands to the Westward, beyond the great *Atlantick* Ocean. He therefore first offered his Service to his native Country, the Republick of *Genoa*; but being rejected as a whimsical and chimerical Man, he applied himself to King *John II.* of *Portugal*, *Henry VII.* of *England*, and to *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Castile*. Many Years being spent in fruitless Sollicitations, and after much Vexation and Disappointment, he was at last entertained in the Service of the King and Queen of *Castile*, and sent upon the Discovery, which he happily effected the 11th of *October* 1492. After this, *Columbus*, being animated with a publick Spirit and a generous Principle of Glory, and the *Spaniards*, being as eagerly pushed on by an insatiable Thirst of Gold, so ardently pursued, and so successfully improved this first Discovery, that they soon became Masters of vast Tracts of rich and fertile Country abounding in Gold, Silver, Pearls, Emeralds, and many other the most precious and delicious Products of this Globe: The *Portuguese* likewise, altho' sufficiently loaded and embarrassed with their vast Acquisitions on the Coast of *Africa* and in the *East-Indies*, yet nevertheless found the Means and Opportunity to make good their great Discovery of *Brazil*. Neither were the *French* entirely idle; but they made many vigorous Efforts towards gaining a Share of the Riches and Territory of this new World.

THE *English* in the mean time, a maritime Nation, of great Bravery, and of a bold and adventurous Nature, lay quite negligent and supine, and let slip all Opportunities in those early Times of acquiring some rich and useful Provinces in *America*. For altho' they had in the Year 1497, under *Sebastian Cabot*, made the Discovery of *Newfoundland*, and of the main Continent of *America* from 38 to 68 Degrees of northern Latitude, yet they made no other Advantage of this Discovery, but to send out a few fishing Barks in common with other Nations of *Europe*. At length Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, a Gentleman of great Reputation for his Skill in naval Affairs, and of a high and resolute Spirit, undertook to settle a Colony in *Newfoundland*, a cold, barren, and unfruitful Soil, and most unfriendly Clime. And

to this End, he obtained Letters patent from Queen *Elizabeth*, bearing Date the 11th of *June*, 1578.

THESE Letters patent granted “free Power and Liberty to him, his Heirs and Assigns for ever, to discover, find, search out, and view, all such remote, heathen, and barbarous Lands, Countries, or Territories, as were not actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People; and thither to lead and carry with him, to travel thitherward, and there inhabit, such and so many of her Majesty’s Subjects, as would willingly accompany and join in the Enterprize.

“AND that he should have, hold, occupy, and enjoy, to himself, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, all such Lands, Countries, and Territories, so to be discovered or possessed, with the Rights, Royalties, and Jurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the said Lands and Countries, or the Seas thereunto adjoining, with full Power to dispose thereof to her Majesty’s Subjects, and of any or every Part thereof, in Fee-simple, or otherwise, according to the Laws of *England*, as nearly as conveniently might be; paying to the Queen, her Heirs and Successors, for all Services, Duties, and Demands whatsoever, the Fifth Part of all the Ore of Gold and Silver, which should at any time there be gotten; holding all the said Lands and Countries of her Majesty, her Heirs, and Successors, by Homage, and by the Payment of the said Fifth Part, before reserved.

“MOREOVER granting to him, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, Licence to encounter, expel, repel, and resist all Person or Persons whatsoever, that should attempt to inhabit in the said Countries, without his special Licence and Liking, or within the Space of two Hundred Leagues of the Place, where he, his Heirs, or Assigns, should, within Six Years next ensuing, make their Dwelling and Abode; provided the said Countries were not before planted or inhabited, within the aforesaid Limits, by the Subjects of any Christian Prince, in Amity with her Majesty. And giving and granting to him, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, full Power and Authority, to take and surprize, by all manner of Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, or other Goods and Furniture, that should be found trafficking within the Limits aforesaid, without the Licence of the said Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Assigns; the Subjects of the Queen’s Realms and Dominions, and all other Persons in Amity with her, being driven thither by Force of Tempest or Shipwreck, only excepted.

“AND

“AND for uniting in more perfect League and Amity, such Lands and Countries with the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the better encouragement of those, who would engage in the Enterprize, the Queen grants and declares, that the said Countries, so to be possessed and inhabited, should from thenceforth be in the Allegiance and Protection of her, her Heirs, and Successors; and farther grants to the said Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, and Assigns, and to every other Person or Persons, to their, and every of their Heirs, that they, and every of them, that should thereafter be inhabiting in the said Lands, Countries, and Territories, should and might have and enjoy all the Privileges of free Denizens, or Persons native of *England*; any Law, Custom, or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

“AND she farther grants to the said Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs and Assigns; for ever, full Power and Authority, to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule, as well in Causes capital or criminal, as civil, all such her Subjects or others, as should adventure themselves in the said Voyages, or should at any Time thereafter inhabit the said Lands, Countries, or Territories, or should dwell within two hundred Leagues of the Place or Places, where the said *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Assigns, or any of his or their Associates, should inhabit within six Years ensuing the Date thereof; with Power to constitute such Statutes, Laws, and Ordinances, as should by him, the said Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Assigns, be devised or established, for the better Government of the said People: Provided always, that they should be; as near as conveniently might, agreeable to the Laws and Policy of *England*; and provided also, that they be not against the true Christian Faith, professed in the Church of *England*, nor any way tend to withdraw the Subjects or People of those Lands or Places from the Allegiance of the Queen, her Heirs, or Successors.

“PROVIDED always, and she thereby declares to all Christian Kings, Princes, and States, that if the said Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Assigns, or any other by their Licence or Appointment, should at any Time or Times thereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjust or unlawful Hostility, to any of the Subjects of *England*, or of any other King, Prince, or State, in League or Amity with the Crown of *England*, that then, upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint thereof, the Queen, her Heirs, or Successors, should make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of *England* com-

“modious, that the said Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Assigns, “or any other, to whom those Letters patent might extend, should, within the Term to be limited in the said “Proclamations, make full Restitution and Satisfaction for “all Injuries so done: In Default whereof, it should be “lawful for the Queen, her Heirs, or Successors, to put “the said Sir *Humphry*, his Heirs, or Assigns, with his or “their Adherents, and all the Inhabitants of the said Places, out of their Allegiance and Protection; and that “from such Time as they should be so put out of the Protection of the Crown of *England*, it should be free for all “Princes and others, to pursue them with Hostility, as “being no longer Subjects of *England*, nor by the Queen, “her Heirs, or Successors, any ways to be avowed, maintained, or defended.”

IN Consequence of these ample Powers and Privileges, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, with the Conjunction and Assistance of many other Gentlemen, prepared to put to Sea with a noble Fleet. But just on the Point of Departure, upon some Disagreement and Dissention, he was deserted by his Associates, and left with only a few of his firm and faithful Friends. With these, however, he ventured to Sea, but having been exposed to some Misfortunes, and lost a large Ship of his Fleet, he was obliged to return without effecting any thing. These expensive and unsuccessful Preparations had so impaired his Fortune, that it was 1583, before he made any farther Attempt. But then having sold his Estate, and being joined by divers Gentlemen of Fortune, he again set Sail with two Ships and three small Barks. Coming before St. *John's* Harbour in *Newfoundland*, he was refused Entrance by the fishing Vessels within, to the Number of thirty-six Sail, of all Nations. He therefore prepared to make his Way good by Force of Arms; but first sent his Boat in to inform them, that he had a Commission from the Queen, to take Possession of those Lands for the Crown of *England*. Queen *Elizabeth's* Name was revered through all *Europe*, and her Power and Authority at Sea, in particular, much honoured and revered. These Fishing-Barks therefore readily submitted, and even made a Contribution of Provisions to supply the Wants of this small Fleet.

AFTER this, Sir *Humphry* went ashore, being conducted by all the *English* there; and having caused a Tent to be set up in View of the Bay and Vessels, being attended by his Captains, Masters, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, he summoned all the Merchants and Masters, both *English* and Foreigners, to be present at his taking a formal and solemn Possession

Possession of the Country. He then caused his Commission to be openly read, and to be interpreted to those who were Strangers to the *English* Tongue. By Virtue of this Commission, he declared, that he took Possession of the Harbour of St. *John's*, and of the Territory two hundred Leagues every way, and invested her Majesty with the Title and Dignity thereof. And having had a Twig and a Turf of the Soil delivered to him, he entered Possession also for himself, his Heirs, or Assigns, for ever. He further signified to those present, and through them to all Men, that, from thenceforward, they should look upon those Territories as appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and upon himself, as authorised by her Majesty to possess and enjoy them, with Power to ordain Laws, under which all People coming thither for the future, either to inhabit or to trade, should submit themselves and be governed. And to exercise his Power and Jurisdiction, he enacted three Laws, immediately to take Place and be of Force; and granted divers Parcels of Land, lying by the Sea Side, as well in the Harbour of St. *John's*, as elsewhere.

AFTER some Excursions to search the Country, and the pretended Discovery of a Silver Mine, with which Sir *Humphry* was much gulled and delighted, they set Sail to the *Southward*, in order to explore and discover the main Coast of *America*. But falling among some Shoals, and meeting with very bad and tempestuous Weather, after having undergone much Danger and Fatigue, they resolved to return for *England*. Sir *Humphry*, the better to search the Coast, and to run up into Creeks and Harbours, had gone on board a small Bark of ten Tons; and could not afterwards be persuaded to leave her in their Return homewards, till her Lights were suddenly extinguished in the Night, at which Time she was supposed to sink, and was never after seen or heard of.

THE learned and valiant Mr. *Walter Raleigh* was half Brother to Sir *Humphry Gilbert*; his Father having married Sir *Humphry's* Mother, when a Widow, and had by her this his fourth and youngest Son, with some other Children. Led by this near Relation, and being also a Person of a noble and enterprising Genius, he had been one of the principal Adventurers in this Undertaking of Sir *Humphry*, and had fitted out, entirely at his own Charge, the largest Ship of his Fleet, called the *Raleigh* Bark. Some Authors say, he went himself upon the Expedition, and commanded his own Ship in Person. But however that might be, it is certain, this Ship was, within a few Days, obliged to put back to *Plymouth*, greatly distressed by a violent and contagious Sick-
ness

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ness among her Company. But notwithstanding this Disappointment, and the unhappy End of his rash and unfortunate Brother, Mr. *Raleigh* was not discouraged; but being moved with the Voyages and Relations of others, he still persisted in the Design of discovering and making a Settlement in *America*. He therefore obtained Letters patent from Queen *Elizabeth*, of whom he was at that Time one of the chief Favourites, bearing Date the 25th of *March*, 1584, for discovering and planting any such Lands and Countries, as were not already in the actual possession of any Christian Nation. These Letters patent are in *Hackluyt's* Collection of Voyages; but that Book is so very rare, that our Country does not afford one Copy of it, at least that I could find out or procure. I have not therefore been able to obtain a Sight of these Patents; but we are told, that they were, *mutatis mutandis*, the very same with those granted to Sir *Humphry Gilbert*; of which I have therefore before given a particular Extract.

ABOUT the same Time, the Queen granted Mr. *Raleigh* another Patent, to licence the Vending of Wine throughout the Kingdom; which was designed, as it has been supposed, to enable him by the Profits, that would thence arise, to sustain the vast Charges which this Undertaking of a Colony would necessarily bring upon him. But yet the better to strengthen himself, and carry on the Affair, he persuaded divers other Gentlemen and Merchants to join with him; particularly his noble and gallant Kinsman, Sir *Richard Greenville*, and Mr. *William Sanderson*, who had married his Neice, and was much engaged among the Merchant Adventurers of that Time; and was also one of the Queen's Commissioners for the *Spanish* Prizes, and of Note for the great Globes, which, by his Encouragement, were first brought to Perfection. They therefore, with all convenient Speed, provided two small Vessels, and having plentifully furnished them with Necessaries, put them under the Command of Captain *Philip Amidas*, and Captain *Arthur Barlow*; which last was also a Land-Officer, and had served under Mr. *Raleigh* in the Wars of *Ireland*, with great Bravery and Honour. But Mr. *Raleigh*, being hindered by his Employments, and too busily engaged in his ambitious Pursuits at Court, did not come himself upon the Expedition, as hath been generally, tho' erroneously, thought.

ON the 27th of *April*, 1584, these Adventurers set Sail from the *Thames*; and having passed by the *Canaries* and the *West-Indies*, (a Circuit both needless and unhealthy, but through the Inexperience of those Times thought necessary) they fell in, on the 2d of *July*, with the Coast of *Florida*.

Florida. For that was the Name which all this *Northern* Continent from Cape *Florida* then bore, there being yet no distinct Settlements; which gave particular Names to the several Places along the Coast. They were met at Sea with a most delicate and delightful Smell; and soon after making the Land, they coasted it along for about an hundred and twenty Miles, without finding any convenient Harbour. The first they saw, they entered with much Difficulty; and having returned Thanks to God, they went ashore to view the Country, and to take Possession of it in the Queen's Name. The Place of their first Landing was a low and sandy Beach; but it yielded such a wonderful Abundance of Grapes, as very much surprised and delighted them. Every little Shrub was covered with them, and the Tops of the tallest Cedars were over-run and loaded with their Clusters.

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THEY concluded, that the Place of their Landing was on the main Continent of *America*; but going up to the Top of a small Eminence at a little Distance from the Shore, they perceived it to be an Island, of about twenty, or as Mr. *Hariot* judged, of fifteen Miles in Length, and six in Breadth. This Island was called *Wococon*, and lay between Cape *Hatteras* and Cape *Fear*; and must therefore be the Island of *Ocacock*, or at least some of the other small Islands along that Coast. For it cannot be, by *With* and *Hariot's* Plan, *Roanoke*, or any other of those which beset and stop up the Mouth of *Albemarle* Sound, in *North-Carolina*, as has been commonly supposed. It was covered with tall and stately Trees, Cedars, Pines, Cypress, Sassafras, and many others of excellent Smell and Quality; and abounded in Deer, Conies, and Wild-fowl, in incredible Numbers.

THEY saw none of the Natives, 'till the third Day after their Landing, when they spied three in a Canoe. One of them went ashore, and waited without any Signs of Fear, till the *English* rowed to him. He spoke much to them in his own Language, and then went boldly aboard their Vessels. They gave him a Shirt, a Hat, Wine, and Meat, with which he was much pleased. Having attentively viewed every thing, he went away; and within half an Hour he had loaded his Canoe with Fish, which he brought and divided between the Ship and the Bark.

THE next Day several Canoes came, and in one of them the King's Brother. His Name was *Granganameo*; the King was called *Wingina*, and the Country *Wingandacoa*. The King himself at that Time lay, at his chief Town, ill of the Wounds which he had lately received in a Battle. *Granganameo*, leaving his Canoes at some Distance, went

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to the Point of Land where the *English* had gone to the *Indian* the Day before. Having spread a Mat, he sat down upon it; and when the *English* came to him well armed, he shewed no Fear; but made Signs to them to sit down, stroaking his own Head and Breast, and then theirs, to express his Love. The Natives were a proper, well-proportioned People, very civil in their Behaviour, and highly respectful to *Granganameo*. For none of them sat down, or spoke a Word in his Presence, except four; on whom the *English* also bestowed Presents. But *Granganameo* took them all from them, and made Signs, that every thing belonged to him. After some small Traffick, he went away; but returning in two Days, he eat and drank very merrily with them. Not long after, he brought his Wife and Children on board. They were of mean Stature, but well-favoured, and very bashful and modest. His Wife had a Band of white Coral about her Forehead, and Bracelets of Pearl in her Ears, hanging down to her Middle, of the Bigness of large Pease. As to the rest, they were decked with red Copper, and such Ornaments, as are at present in Fashion and Esteem among our *Indians*.

AFTER this, there came down, from all Parts, great Numbers of People, with Leather, Coral, and divers Kinds of Dyes. But when *Granganameo* was present, none durst trade but himself, and those, who wore red Copper on their Heads, as he did. He would have engaged a Bag of Pearl for a Suit of Armour; but the *English* refused, as not regarding it, that they might thereby the better learn, where it grew. He was very just to his Promise, for they often trusted him, and he never failed to come within his Day to keep his Word. He commonly sent the *English* every Day a Brace of Bucks, Conies, Hares, and Fish; and sometimes Melons, Walnuts, Cucumers, Pease, and divers Kinds of Roots. And the *English*, to try the Strength and Goodness of the Soil, put some of their Pease into the Ground, which grew wonderfully, and were found in ten Days time fourteen Inches high.

AN Acquaintance being thus contracted by mutual Returns of Kindness and Beneficence, Captain *Amidas*, with seven more, ventured up the River *Occam*, as they call it, which must be *Pamptico* Sound. The next Evening they came to the Isle of *Roanoke*, at the Mouth of *Albemarle* Sound, about seven Leagues, as they say, from the Harbour, where they first entered. But this is a gross Mistake, and must be an Error in the Copy. For by the Scale in *With's* Map, it cannot be less than thirty Leagues, from *Wococon* to *Roanoke*. On this Island they found a small
Town,

Town, consisting of nine Houses; in one of which *Granganameo* lived. He was absent; but his Wife entertained them with wonderful Courtesy and Kindness. She made some of her People draw their Boat up, to prevent it's being injured by the Beating of the Surge; some she ordered to bring them ashore on their Backs; and others, to carry their Oars to the House, for Fear of being stole. When they came into the House, she took off their Cloaths and Stockings, and washed them, as likewise their Feet in warm Water. When their Dinner was ready, they were conducted into an inner Room (for there were five in the House, divided by Mats) where they found *Hominy**, boiled Venison, and roasted Fish; and as a Desert, Melons, boiled Roots, and Fruits of various Sorts. While they were at Meat, two or three of her Men came in with their Bows and Arrows, which made the *English* take to their Arms. But she, perceiving their Distrust, ordered their Bows and Arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the Gate. In the Evening the *English* returned to their Boat; and putting a little off from Shore, lay at Anchor. At which she was much concerned, and brought their Supper, half boiled, Pots and all to the Shore Side; and seeing their Jealousy, she ordered several Men, and thirty Women, to sit all Night upon the Shore, as a Guard; and sent five Mats to cover them from the Weather. In short, she omitted nothing, that the most generous Hospitality and hearty Desire of pleasing could do, to entertain them.

AND this was the farthest Discovery made upon this first Voyage, except some confused and uncertain Accounts of the Country, which they gathered from the *Indians*. They returned to *England* about the Middle of *September*, carrying with them two of the Natives, *Manteo* and *Wanchese*; and their Discovery was so welcome there, that the Queen herself was pleased to name the Country VIRGINIA, in Memory of it's having been first found out in the Reign of a Virgin Queen. Or as some have been pleased to gloss and interpret it, because it still seemed to retain the *Virgin* Purity and Plenty of the first Creation, and the People their primitive Innocency of Life and Manners. And soon after their Return, Mr. *Raleigh* was elected, together with Sir *William Courtenay*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*. On the 14th of *December*, he caused a Bill to be brought into the House, to confirm his Patent for discovering foreign Countries; which being committed to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain *Hatton*, Secretary *Walsingham*, Sir *Philip Sidney*,

* A Food made of *Indian* Corn, or Maize, beaten and carefully husked, something like *Furmety* in *England*; and is an excellent Dish various Ways.

1584. *Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Greenvil, Sir William Courtenay, and others, it was in a few Days passed, after many Arguments and a Proviso added. And not long after, the Queen was pleased to Knight him, upon Occasion, it is said, of this grateful Discovery. But Mr. Osborne, an ingenious Observer on her Reign, says with Respect to Sir Francis Vere, a Man nobly descended, and Sir Walter Raleigh, exactly qualified, that they, with such others, were set apart in her Judgment for military Services. Neither did she ever raise them above Knighthood; saying, when solicited to make Vere a Baron, That in his proper Sphere, and her Estimation, he was above it already.*

1585. THE advantageous Accounts, which these first Adventurers gave of the Fertility, Pleasantness, and Wholesomeness of the Country, induced Sir Richard Greenvil himself to make a Voyage thither the next Year. And he accordingly set out from *Plimouth* the 9th of *April*, with seven Ships. Having made the usual Circuit of the *Canaries* and *West-Indies*, where they took two rich *Spanish* Prizes, and forced a profitable Trade, they fell in with the Continent of *America* near *Cape Fear*, and were in great Danger of being lost upon it. But having happily escaped, they came to an Anchor off the Island of *Wococon* the 26th of *May*. They immediately sent to the Isle of *Roanoke*, to *Wingina* the King; and Mr. *Arundel* went to the Main, with *Manteo*, who proved throughout their whole Stay, very faithful and useful to them. Soon after, the General, Sir Richard Greenvil, went himself to the Main, with a select Body of Men; and ranging about, discovered several *Indian* Towns. At one of them the *Indians* stole a Silver Cup; for which they burnt their Town, and destroyed their Corn, and so returned to their Ships at *Wococon*. At *Hatteras*, whither they went soon after, *Granganameo*, the King's Brother, came aboard the Admiral with *Manteo*. This is the last Visit he made to the *English*; for sometime this Year he died, and in him they lost a sincere and hearty Friend.

SIR Richard Greenvil, having only made that small Excursion on the Continent, returned to *England* this Summer. In his Way home, he took another *Spanish* Prize, of three hundred Tons, richly laden, and with her arrived at *Plimouth* the 18th of *September*. But he left behind him an hundred and eight Persons, as a Colony, to keep Possession of, and inhabit the Country. Of these he constituted Mr. *Ralph Lane* Governor, a military Man of Note, who was afterwards Knighted, and applying himself to the Sea Service, was of eminent Command in the *English* Navy. With him remained Captain *Philip Amidas*, as Admiral,

one of the Commanders in Chief in the first Adventure; Mr. *Thomas Hariot*; Captain *Stafford*; Mr. *Kendal*; with several others of Name in the Expedition. 1585.

THIS Colony chose *Roanoke*, an Island at the Mouth of *Albemarle* Sound, for the Place of their Habitation; and their chief Employment was to reconnoitre and view the Country. Their farthest Discovery to the Southward was *Secotan*, an *Indian* Town, by their Reckoning, eighty Leagues from *Roanoke*, lying up between the Rivers *Pampticoe* and *Neus*, in *North-Carolina*. To the Northward they went an hundred and thirty Miles to the *Chesapeakes*, a Nation of *Indians*, seated on a small River, to the South of our Bay, now called *Elfabeth* River, from whom, as these first Discoverers tell us, the Bay itself took its Name. But some pretend to give another Derivation of this Word; and say, that *Chesapeake* signified, in the *Indian* Language, *The Mother of Waters*; implying, that it was the Parent and grand Reservoir of all the great Rivers within it. But this is a dark and uncertain Guess; especially considering the Unstability and vast Mutability of the *Indian* Tongues, and that no body at present can pretend to understand their Language at that time. The best Authority that I have met with for this Derivation, is what a Gentleman of Credit once assured me, that in a very old *Spanish* Map, which he had seen, our Bay was laid down under the Name of *Madre des Aquas*, or some Expression to the like Purpose. This Town of the *Chesapeakes*, we are told, for Pleasantness of Situation, for Temperature of Clime, Fertility of Soil, and Commodiousness to the Sea, was not to be excelled by any in the World. To the Northwest, these Discoverers went up *Albemarle* Sound and *Chowan* River, an hundred and thirty Miles, to a Nation of *Indians* called the *Chawonocks*, inhabiting above the Fork of that River, where one Branch takes the Name of *Meherrin*, and the other of *Nottoway*.

THE King of the *Chawonocks*, whose Name was *Me-natonon*, was lame, but the most sensible and understanding *Indian* they had met with. He amused Mr. *Lane* and his Company with a Story of a Copper Mine, and of a Pearl Fishery, which by the Description was some where upon our Coast, and with a strange Relation of the Head of the River *Moratuc*, now called *Roanoke*. This River was described, as springing out of a Rock, so nigh the Sea, that in high Winds the Surge beat over into the Spring. And the *English* very sanguinely concluded this Sea to be either the Bay of *Mexico*, or the *South* Sea, or at least some Arm that opened into it. Having their Heads filled with these chimerical

1585. chimerical Fancies, they formed many Schemes, and undertook a very fatiguing and hazardous Voyage up that River. And so eager were they, and resolutely bent upon this golden Discovery, that they could not be persuaded to return, as long as they had one Pint of Corn a Man left, and two Mastif Dogs, which being boiled with Sassafras Leaves, might afford them some Sustenance in their Way back. But after some Days spent in vain, and having undergone much Misery and Danger, they at last returned, and joyfully arrived at their old Habitation on *Roanoke* Island.

THE Death of *Granganameo* had caused a great Alteration in the Affairs of the Colony. For whilst he lived, his Credit with the King, joined to the Interest of *Ensenore*, their Father, had restrained his Perfidy and Malice, and kept him within Bounds. But upon the Death of *Granganameo*, he changed his Name from *Wingina* to *Pemissapan*, and became a secret but bitter Enemy to the *English*. To his Machinations chiefly were owing the many Hardships and Dangers, they had encountered in their last Journey up the River *Chowan*. For he had given secret Intelligence to those *Indians* of the coming of the *English*; and had craftily insituated Jealousies into the *Indians* of the *English*, and into the *English* of the *Indians*. But a Rumour being spread, that Mr. *Lane* and his Company were all either slain or starved in this Journey, he began to act more openly. He blasphemed the God of the *English*, and endeavoured, by all the Devices he could, to hurt and annoy them. And *Ensenore*, his aged Father, the best Friend the *English* had left after the Death of *Granganameo*, lost all his Credit to assist or serve them. But their Return soon after, and their bringing the Son of *Menatonon*, their greatest King, Prisoner, joined to the Testimonies of *Manteo*, and three other *Indians*, that went with them, how little they valued any People they met, or feared Hunger, Death, or any thing else, restrained his Devices for the present, and brought *Ensenore* again into Credit and Esteem.

1586. SOON after, *Menatonon*, King of the *Chawonocks*, sent a Present of Pearl to Mr. *Lane*; and *Okisco*, King of *Weopomeoke*, (another powerful Nation, possessing all that Country from *Albemarle* Sound and *Chowan* River, quite to the *Chesapeakes* and our Bay) came himself, with twenty four of his principal Men, to own Subjection to the Queen of *England*. All which so wrought on the Heart of *Wingina*, that by *Ensenore*'s Persuasions, they came and made Weirs for the *English*, when they were ready to famish, and planted their Fields of Corn, which they intended to abandon. But this good Intelligence was soon broke off by the

the Death of *Ensenore*, which happened on the 20th of *April*. For *Wingina*, under Pretence of solemnizing his Father's Funeral, had laid a Scheme of drawing together sixteen or eighteen hundred *Indians*, and of cutting off all the *English* at once. But his Design took Wind, and was at last fully discovered to Mr. *Lane* by his Prisoner *Skico*, King *Menatonon*'s Son. Then the *English*, in their Turn, endeavoured to seize all the Canoes upon *Roanoke*, and thereby to have all the *Indians* in the Island at their Mercy. But they took the Alarm, and after a small Skirmish, in which five or six *Indians* were slain, the rest escaped and fled into the Woods. After this, neither Side cared much for trusting the other; and at last, after much Tricking and Diffimulation on both Parts, *Wingina* was entrapped by the *English*, and slain, with eight of his chief Men. This is the Account of that Action, as it is delivered by the Persons concerned in it. But I find, that Mr. *Harriot*, who was likewise upon the Spot, blames the Violence and Forwardness of the *English*; and thinks, that the Causes of Suspicion and Resentment had been better dissembled and passed over.

IN the Time of these Confusions and Broils with the *Indians*, Mr. *Lane* had been obliged, through Want of Provisions, to send Captain *Stafford*, with twenty more, to *Croatan*, on the South Part of Cape Look-out, to shift for themselves, and to see, if they could spy any Sail pass by the Coast. In like Manner he detached Mr. *Prideaux*, with ten, to *Hatteras*, upon the same Design; and other small Parties he sent to the Main, to live upon Roots and Oysters. Seven Days after the Death of *Wingina*, Captain *Stafford*, (who through the whole Voyage was very vigilant and industrious, and spared no Labour or Danger, to perform any serious and important Service, committed to him) sent Mr. *Lane* Word, that he descried twenty three Sail of Ships; and the next Day, he came himself with a Letter from Sir *Francis Drake*. Sir *Francis* was then returning from an Expedition against the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, where he had taken *Carthagena*, and the Capital City of *Hispaniola*; and had burnt St. *Anthony*, and St. *Helena*, on the Coast of *Florida*; and done much other Damage to the Enemy. He had Orders from the Queen to visit the Colony of *Virginia* in his Return, and to afford them such Assistance and Encouragement, as was proper. He therefore offered to supply their Wants, and to do any thing else in his Power, towards their Relief and the Furtherance of the Undertaking; and after mature Deliberation, he appointed them a Ship of seventy Tons, with an hundred

1586. hundred Men, and four Months Provisions, besides two Barks and four small Boats, with able Masters and sufficient Gangs. But just as all was ready, there arose such a Storm, as had like to have driven the whole Fleet ashore. Many Ships were forced out to Sea, among which was that lately given to the Colony, with all their Provisions and Company aboard.

THIS Accident did not discourage the Admiral, but he allotted them another Ship of an hundred and seventy Tons, with all Provisions as before, to carry them to *England* the next *August*, or when they should have made such Discoveries as they thought sufficient. But their Harbour, which was very indifferent, would not receive a Ship of her Burthen; and to lie in the open Road, exposed to the Winds and Sea, was very dangerous. And therefore, after Consultation, it was unanimously agreed, to desire the Admiral to take them home with him in his Fleet; for they had already undergone much Misery and Danger, and there appeared but little Hopes of Sir *Richard Greenville's* Return. And so this first Attempt towards a Settlement became abortive, and they all arrived safe at *Portsmouth* the latter End of *July*, 1586. But in his Way home, Sir *Francis Drake* touched on the Coast of *New-England*; where he landed, and spent two or three Days in trading with the Natives, and one of the *Indian* Kings came, and submitted himself to *Queen Elizabeth*.

UPON this Voyage, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by the Queen's Advice and Directions, sent, at no small Expence, Mr. *John With*, a skilful and ingenious Painter, to take the Situation of the Country, and to paint, from the Life, the Figures and Habits of the Natives, their Way of Living, and their several Fashions, Modes, and Superstitions; which he did with great Beauty and Exactness. There was one *Theodore de Bry*, who afterwards published, in the Year 1624, the beautiful *Latin* Edition of Voyages, in six Volumes, *Folio*, a most curious and valuable Work. He being in *England* soon after, by the Means of the Rev. Mr. *Richard Hackluyt*, then of *Christ's-Church*, in *Oxford*, who, *De Bry* tells us, had himself seen the Country, obtained from Mr. *With* a Sight of these Pieces, with Permission to take them off in Copper Plates. These, being very lively and well done, he carried to *Frankfort*, on the *Maine*, where he published a noble Edition of them, with *Latin* Explanations, out of *John Wechelius's* Press, in the Year 1590. And these are the Originals from which Mr. *Beverley's*, and the Cuts of many of our late Writers and Travellers, have been chiefly imitated. And to shew, that the
Inhabitants

Inhabitants of *England* were once as wild and barbarous as these of *Virginia*, Mr. *With* gave him the Figures of three of the *Picts* and two of their Neighbours, that he had found delineated in an old *English* History; which were accordingly published with them, and was no mean or impolitic Device, to recommend the Prosecution of the Enterprize to the *English* Nation.

BUT besides this Painter, Sir *Walter*, sent upon this Voyage a Domestick of his, one Mr. *Thomas Hariot*, a Mathematician, and highly in his Patron's Intimacy and Friendship. He was a Man of Learning, and a very observing and understanding Person, and went chiefly to make Observations on the Situation of the Country, and to assist Mr. *With* in the Plan. After his Return, to obviate the clamorous and unjust Reports of some of the Company, he published a small Treatise concerning the Country, divided into three Parts. The first treats of such Commodities, as would be useful towards the Improvement of Commerce; the second, of those natural Products of the Earth, and of such Fish, Fowl, and Beasts, as would contribute to the Sustenance of Man, and the Support of human Life; and the third, of the Trees and Timber, and other proper Materials for building Houses, Ships, and the like. After which he subjoins the following Account of the Doctrines and Manners of the Natives.

THEY believed, that there is one chief God, who hath existed from all Eternity: That he created the World; but first made other Gods of a principal Order, to be his Instruments in the Creation and Government thereof: That next the Sun, Moon, and Stars were created, as petty Gods, and as Instruments to those other Gods of a superior Order: That then the Waters were created, out of which were formed all Creatures: That a Woman was first made; who, by the Congress of one of the Gods, conceived and brought forth Children; and that thence Mankind had their Beginning. They thought, the Gods were all of human Shape, and therefore represented them by Images, which they placed in their Temples; and they worshipped, prayed, sung, danced, and made many Offerings to them. They held the Immortality of the Soul; which after Death, according to it's Works in the Flesh, was either carried up to the Tabernacles of the Gods, to eternal Happiness; or else to *Popogusso* (a great Pit at the furthest Parts of the Earth, where the Sun sets) into perpetual Fire and Torment. And this Doctrine they supported by the Authority of two Persons, who, as they pretended, had risen from the Dead.

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THESE Opinions were thought to make but slight Impressions on their *Weroances*, or Kings and Rulers; or upon their Priests, and other Persons of Figure among them. For that Christian Custom, for the Great and Eminent to free their Consciences from the Shackles of a Creed, and exempt their Actions from the unwieldy Clog of Religion and Morality, had reached even among those wild and savage Nations. But these Doctrines had a great Influence on the common Sort. They kept them in proper Subjection to their Rulers; and made them very solicitous to obtain the Bliss, and avoid the Torments of the next Life.

THEY were not however so firm to their own Doctrines, but that they were very open to receive any Instructions from the *English*. Their Compasses, Perspective Glässes, Burning Glässes, Clocks, Books, Writing, Guns, and other Instruments and Inventions, so exceeded their Capacities, and amazed them, that they thought them to be the Works of Gods rather than Men; or at least, that the Gods had taught the *English*, how to make them. This caused them to give great Credit to whatever they said concerning God and Religion. And *Wingina* himself would often be at Prayers with them; and when he was sick, which, he thought, proceeded from having offended the *English* and their God, he would send for some of them, to pray, and be a Means to their God, of his living with him after Death; as also did many others. And once, when their Corn was much hurt and withered with a long Drought, thinking it proceeded from some Injury done the *English*, they came to them in Flocks, and begged them to pray to their God to preserve their Corn, for which they promised, when it was ripe, to give them a Part.

AND this high Opinion of the *English* was greatly encreased, by a marvellous Accident. The Country was that Year afflicted with an epidemical Disease, which was observed to fall upon none, but those Nations, which had endeavoured to injure or betray the *English*. This wrought many extravagant and superstitious Opinions, which were much confirmed by the Healthiness of the *English* Colony. Some thought it was the Work of the *English* God; and others, that they themselves shot invisible Bullets from the Place, where they dwelt. Others observing, that the *English* had no Women of their own, nor cared for any of theirs, thought they were not born of Women, but were Men of an ancient Generation, risen again to Immortality; that there were more of them still in the Air, as yet invisible and without Bodies, who would afterwards come, and destroy their Generation, and take their Places; and that these,

these, by the Entreaty, or out of Love to the *English*, made the People die, as they did, by shooting invisible Bullets into them. And their Physicians, to cover their Ignorance, would make them believe, that they sucked out of the Bodies of the Sick Leaden Bullets in the Strings of Blood. In short, *Wingina* and others were so firmly persuaded, that it happened through their Means, that when any of their own Enemies had affronted or abused the *English*, they would desire them to make them die in the same Manner. And altho' the *English* remonstrated to them the Unrighteousness of their Request, and how disagreeable it was to God; yet because the Effect fell out soon after, they would come and return them Thanks in their Way; thinking, altho' they had denied them in Words, yet they had in Reality fully answered their Desire.

HE likewise tells us of the great Esteem and Veneration, in which the Natives held a Plant, which grew spontaneously in the Country, and was by them called *Uppowoc*, but is now well known by the Name of *Tobacco*; derived, it is said, from the Island of *Tobago*, one of the *Caribbees* in the *West-Indies*, where it grew in vast Quantities. The Leaves of this they cured and dried, and then being rubbed into a Sort of Bran and Dust, they put it into Earthen Tubes, and drew the Smoke through the Mouth. They thought this Plant of so great Worth and Virtue, that even the Gods themselves were delighted with it. And therefore they sometimes made sacred Fires, and instead of a Sacrifice threw in this Dust; and when they were caught in a Tempest, they would sprinkle it into the Air and Water. Upon all their new fishing Nets they would cast some of it; and when they had escaped any remarkable Danger, they would throw some of this Dust into the Air, with strange distorted Gestures, sometimes striking the Earth with their Feet, in a Kind of Time and Measure, sometimes clapping their Hands, and throwing them up on high, looking up to the Heavens, and uttering barbarous and dissonant Words.

MR. *Harriot* also, in passing through their Towns, would shew them the Bible, and explain the Contents: That in that Book was taught the true and only God, his Omnipotence, the Doctrine of Salvation by Jesus Christ, and the other principal Heads of our Religion. But he was obliged to tell them, that there was no particular Virtue in the material Book itself, but only in the Doctrines, which it contained. For they paid their Kind of Adoration to the Book, by handling, hugging, and kissing it, and by applying it to their Head and Breast, and stroking it over the other Parts of their Body.

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AND here, if it were an Imputation worthy of Notice, I might tranſiently remark the great Injuſtice, done to this learned Mathematician and pious Scholar. For as Sir *Walter Raleigh* was aſperſed with holding atheiſtical Principles, ſo it has been ſaid, that he imbibed them from this Mr. *Hariot*, whom he retained in his Service with a handſome Penſion, to teach him the mathematical Sciences at his leiſure Hours. But an orthodox Divine, Dr. *Richard Corbet*, afterwards a Biſhop, tells us, that *Hariot's* deep Mine was without Dross. And Mr. *George Chapman*, another Contemporary, a grave and virtuous Author, ſays, That his Judgment and Knowledge in all Kinds were deep and incomparable, and as much to be admired, as his moſt blameleſs Life, and the right ſacred Expenſe of his Time, were to be honoured and revered. To which might be added other Teſtimonies, which have been carefully collected by the diligent and induſtrious Mr. *Oldys*, in his accurate Life of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, lately prefixed to his Hiſtory of the World; who likewiſe ſhews, that the famous *French* Philoſopher, *Deſcartes*, borrowed much of his Light from this excellent Mathematician; and that the learned Dr. *Wallis* gave the Preference to *Hariot's* Improvements, before *Deſcarte's*, altho' he had the Advantage of coming after, and being aſſiſted by him.

As to this groundleſs Aſperſion, the Truth of it perhaps was, that Sir *Walter* and Mr. *Hariot* were the firſt, who ventured to depart from the beaten Tract of the Schools, and to throw off and combat ſome hoary Follies and traditionary Errors, which had been riveted by Age, and rendered ſacred and inviolable in the Eyes of weak and prejudiced Perſons. Sir *Walter* is ſaid to have been firſt led to this, by the manifeſt Detection, from his own Experience, of their erroneous Opinions concerning the *Torrid Zone*; and he intended to have proceeded farther in the Search after more ſolid and important Truths, 'till he was chid and reſtrained by the Queen, into whom ſome Perſons had inſuſed a Notion, that ſuch Doctrines were againſt God. And this was ſufficient Ground for Men, zealous without Knowledge, and ſtiſly orthodox, with a Charity uſual to ſome ſuch in all Ages, to brand him with the odious Names of *Atheiſt* and *Deiſt*; altho' he was an eminent Aſſertor of God and Providence, and has in many Parts of his Writings, eſpecially in the Hiſtory of the World, given ſtronger Evidences of his Chriſtian Faith, than any of his Detractors ever did of theirs.

MR. *Lane* and his Company carried home ſome Tobacco, which, *Cambden* thinks, was the firſt, that ever was brought

brought to *England*. And Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a Man of Gaiety and Fashion, readily gave into it, and by his Interest and Example, soon brought it into such Vogue at Court, that many great Ladies, as well as Noblemen, made no Scruple sometimes to take a Pipe. We are not informed, whether the Queen made Use of it herself; but it is certain, she gave great Countenance and Encouragement to it, as a Vegetable of singular Strength and Power, which might therefore prove of Benefit to Mankind, and Advantage to the Nation. So far, as Mr. *Oldys* well observes, was this wise Princess from the refined Taste of her Successor, who held Tobacco in such Abomination, that he not only refused the Use of it himself, but endeavoured to destroy and suppress it among his Subjects, and would thereby have robbed the Crown of what has since proved one of its noblest Jewels and most considerable Revenues, and the Nation of a very advantageous and important Branch of Trade.

SIR *Walter Raleigh's* Tobacco-Box, with some of his Pipes, was lately extant, and laid up among the Rarities in the *Museum* of that curious Antiquarian, the late Mr. *Ralph Thoresby*, of *Leeds*, in *Yorkshire*. There are also some humerous Stories still remembred, concerning his first Use of Tobacco; particularly his Wager with the Queen, that he would determine exactly the Weight of the Smoke which went off in a Pipe of Tobacco. This he did by first weighing the Tobacco, and then carefully preserving and weighing the Ashes; and the Queen readily granted, that what was wanting in the prime Weight, must be evaporated in Smoke. And when she paid the Wager, she said pleasantly, that she had heard of many Labourers in the Fire, that turned their Gold into Smoke, but *Raleigh* was the first, who had turned his Smoke into Gold. It is also related, that a Country Servant of his, bringing him a Tankard of Ale and Nutmeg into his Study, as he was intently engaged at his Book, smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco, the Fellow was so frightened at seeing the Smoke reek out of his Mouth, that he threw the Ale into his Face, in order to extinguish the Fire, and ran down Stairs, alarming the Family, and crying out, His Master was on Fire, and before they could get up, would be burnt to Ashes.

BUT whilst Mr. *Lane* and the Colony were in the above mentioned Streights and Difficulties in *America*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was not idle at home. He provided a Ship of an hundred Tons, and loaded her with Plenty of all things necessary for the Settlement; but it being *Easter* before she departed, Mr. *Lane* and his Company had shipped themselves

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selves for *England* in Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, a few Days before her Arrival. Having therefore spent some Time in seeking them up the Country without Effect, they returned that Summer to *England*, with all their Provision.

THOSE Authors who will have Sir *Walter Raleigh* to have been in *Virginia*, say, that he came upon this Voyage: But the Conduct of it was so weak and trifling, that I cannot be easily induced to believe it agreeable to a Person of his Sense and Resolution; who, had he been there, would certainly have made some vigorous Searches and Enquiries, and left some useful Remarks on the Country, as he did in his Voyage to *Guiana*. Indeed it does not appear, that Sir *Walter* was ever in his Colony himself. The only Authority of Weight for it, that I have met with, is the Translation of Mr. *Hariot's* Treatise, which mentions the Actions of those, *qui Generosum D. Walterum Raleigh in eam regionem comitati sunt*. But this, I am inclined to think, must be an Error of the Translator, who seems to have been a *Frenchman*, and might not therefore perfectly understand our Language; and I could never yet get a Sight of *Hariot's* original Discourse, which was written in *English*, but have been obliged to make Use of the *Latin* Translation, published by *De Bry*, at *Frankfort*, 1590. But if Mr. *Hackluyt* ever was in *Virginia*, as we are expressly told by *De Bry*, it must have been, I think, either in this Voyage, or that immediately following by Sir *Richard Greenville*, of which we have such brief and summary Accounts. For it is not to be supposed, that a Person of his Figure and Consideration, would have been entirely passed over in the full and particular Relations, that we have of all the other Voyages.

ABOUT a Fortnight after the Departure of this Ship, Sir *Richard Greenville* arrived with three Ships more, well provided; but he neither found that Ship, according to his Expectation, nor could hear any News of the Colony, which he himself had seated and left there the Year before. Therefore, after travelling in vain up and down to seek them, finding their Habitation abandoned, and being unwilling to lose the Possession of the Country, he landed fifty Men on the Island of *Roanoke*, plentifully furnished with all Provisions for two Years, and so returned to *England*.

THESE unlucky Crosses and Accidents gave Occasion to many Persons to discant on their Proceedings, to the Disparagement of Sir *Richard Greenville*. But their Censure was very unjust. For to plant Colonies abroad, and to diffuse and propagate our Nation and our Trade, is certainly a most princely and noble Enterprize, and highly worthy a Person

Person of his eminent and illustrious Family. And indeed he seems to have embarked in the Affair with great Heartiness and Resolution, and to have hazarded and exposed his Person very freely in the Prosecution of it. And it was upon Occasion of these Murmurs and Reports, that Mr. *Harriot* wrote and published his Discourse, before mentioned.

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THE next Year, three Ships were sent, under the Command of Mr. *John White*, who was appointed Governor of the Colony, with twelve Assistants, as a Council. To these Sir *Walter Raleigh* gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the Name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of *Raleigh* in *Virginia*, with express Directions to seat at *Chesapeake*; which, however useful and important, they nevertheless disobeyed and neglected. Having taken the old Route by the *West-Indies*, they had like to have been cast away upon *Cape-Fear*, through the Error or Design of *Simon Ferdinando*. He had been with Captain *Amidas* in the first Expedition; and being made Pilot in this, was suspected of a Design to ruin the whole Voyage. But being prevented by the Vigilancy of Captain *Stafford*, they arrived all safe at *Hatteras* the 22d of *July*.

THEY went immediately to *Roanoke*, to look for the fifty Men, left there by Sir *Richard Greenville*, but they found nothing but the Bones of a Man; and where the Plantation had been, the Houses were undestroyed, but overgrown with Weeds, and the Fort defaced. They refitted the Houses; and Mr. *George How*, one of the Council, stragling abroad, was slain by the *Indians*. Soon after, Captain *Stafford*, with twenty Men, and *Manteo*, who, I believe, had been again in *England* this Voyage, went to *Croatan*, to enquire, if they could hear any News of the Colony. There they understood, that Mr. *How* had been slain by some of *Wingina's* Men of *Dassamonpeake*; that the fifty, left the Year before, had been suddenly set upon by three hundred *Indians*, of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeake*; that after a small Skirmish, in which one *Englishman* was slain, they retired to the Water Side, and having got their Boat, and taken up four of their Fellows gathering Crabs and Oysters, they went to a small Island by *Hatteras*; that they staid there some time, but after departed they knew not whither. And with this Account, Captain *Stafford* returned to the Fleet at *Hatteras*.

HOWEVER, Mr. *White* endeavoured to renew and keep up a good Understanding with the several Nations of *Indians* on the Sea-Coast. But finding his Offers of Friendship not much regarded, he resolved no longer to defer his Revenge on those of *Dassamonpeake*. This Nation was seated right

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opposite to *Roanoke* Island, on the Main, in the Neck of Land, between the River now called *Allegator*, and the Narrows. About Midnight, Mr. *White* set forward, with Captain *Stafford*, and twenty four Men, whereof *Manteo* was one, who was their Guide, and behaved himself as a most faithful *Englishman*. They landed by Break of Day, and having got beyond the Town, they assaulted some *Indians* that were sitting by a Fire. One was shot through, and they hoped to have been fully revenged, but were soon undeceived, and found that they were their Friends of *Croatan*, come to gather their Corn, because they understood, that the *Dassamonpeake* *Indians* had fled after the Death of Mr. *How*. *Manteo*, their Countryman, was grieved at the Mistake; but however, imputed it all to their own Folly. And so having gathered what was ripe, and left the rest unspoiled, they returned to *Roanoke*.

ON the 13th of *August*, *Manteo*, according to Command from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was baptized, and stiled Lord of *Roanoke* and *Dassamonpeake*, in Reward of his Fidelity. And on the 18th, the Governor's Daughter, Wife to *Ananias Dare*, one of the Council, was delivered of a Daughter, which, being the first Child born there, was called *Virginia*. And soon after, there arose a Dispute between the Governor and his Assistants or Council, concerning a Person to be sent to *England* to solicit Supplies. All refused, except one, who was thought very unequal to the Business. At last, they unanimously pitched upon the Governor, as the fittest Person; and having signed a Paper, testifying his Unwillingness to leave the Colony, they at length prevailed upon him, with much Importunity, to undertake it. Leaving therefore above an hundred Persons on one of the Islands of *Hatteras*, to form a Plantation, he departed, and after many Crosses and Difficulties, got first to *Ireland*, and from thence went to *England*.

AT this time, the Nation was in great Commotion and Apprehension of the *Spanish* Invasion and invincible *Armada*, as it was vainly called, and the Queen caused frequent Councils to be held, by the oldest and most experienced Commanders at Sea; and also appointed a Council of War, of such Persons as were in highest Repute for military Skill and Knowledge, in order to put the Land Forces of the Kingdom in the best Posture of Defence. For this Purpose were chosen the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and *Ralph Lane*, Esq; late Governor of *Virginia*, who were therefore all entirely taken up with those important Consultations.

How-

HOWEVER, having laid a Plan of Operations, and made proper Dispositions for the Defence of the Nation, Sir *Walter* found Leisure to fit out a small Fleet for the Relief of the Colony, at *Biddeford*, early the next Year, which was put under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenville*, and only waited for a fair Wind. But the Alarm of the vast and formidable Armament, made by the King of *Spain*, encreasing, all Ships of Force, then in any Readiness, received Orders from the State to stay in their Harbours, for the Defence of their own Country; and Sir *Richard Greenville* was personally commanded not to depart out of *Cornwall*, where Sir *Walter Raleigh* then was himself, mustering and training the Forces, and performing other Duties of his Office, as Lieutenant of that County. However, Governor *White* laboured so strenuously with them, that he obtained two small Barks, and put to Sea from *Biddeford*, the 22d of *April*, 1588. But these Vessels, tho' of little Force, being more intent on a gainful Voyage, than the Relief of the Colony, ran in Chace of Prizes; till at last, one of them, meeting with two Ships of War, was, after a bloody Fight, overcome, boarded, and rifled. In this maimed, ransacked, and ragged Condition, she returned to *England* in a Month's Time; and in about three Weeks after, the other also returned, having perhaps tasted of the same Fare, at least without performing her intended Voyage, to the Distress, and as it proved, the utter Destruction of the Colony in *Virginia*, and to the great Displeasure of their Patron at home.

1588.

THESE Disappointments gave much Vexation to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had by this Time expended, as we are authentically assured, not less than forty thousand Pounds, upon the Enterprize. He had also, not long before, received, as a Reward for his great Services in the *Irish* Wars, a very large Grant, out of the Earl of *Desmond's* Lands there; the Terms of which he fairly and honestly endeavoured to fulfil, by planting those Lands with *English*, and made Use of none of the Arts and Frauds, which others of those Grantees were charged withal. So that this great Bounty of the Queen was at present rather a Burthen and Charge to him, than any real Profit or Advantage. Besides which, he was among the foremost of the military Geniuses of that time, who were fired with the *Spanish* Invasion, and prosecuted the War against them with great Cost and Industry, and with an incredible Courage and Success. For all these Reasons, Sir *Walter Raleigh* made an Assignment, by Indenture, bearing Date the 7th of *March*, 1588-9, to *Thomas Smith*, (afterwards Sir *Thomas Smith*, and a Per-

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son of Note in the Sequel of this History) with other Merchants and Adventurers of *London*, and to Governor *White*, and other Gentlemen, for continuing the Plantation of *Virginia*. By this Indenture, he grants to the said *Thomas Smith*, *John White*, and the rest, according to a Charter, formerly granted for the City of *Raleigh*, free Liberty to carry to *Virginia*, and there inhabit, such of her Majesty's Subjects, as would willingly accompany them; as also to them, their Heirs, or Assigns, free Trade and Traffick to and from *Virginia*, or any other Part of *America*, where the said Sir *Walter*, his Heirs, or Assigns, did, or might claim any Interest, Title, or Privilege. And he did farther, for their Encouragement, and for the common Utility, freely and liberally give them one hundred Pounds, to be employed for planting the Christian Religion in those barbarous and heathen Countries.

AND thus Sir *Walter Raleigh*, having disengaged himself for the present from this burthensome and expensive Affair, gave a Loose to his martial Genius, and bent his whole Thoughts against the *Spaniards*, which soon became the fixed and ruling Passion of his Nature; as abasing the exorbitant Power of *France*, and preventing its ill Consequences on the Liberties of *Europe*, did, in later Times, engross all the Thoughts and Inclinations of King *William*, and was the principal Aim of most of his Steps and Actions. And altho' this Comparifon may be thought very unequal with Relation to the Power and Dignity of the two Persons, yet it will, I think, be found just and exact with Respect to their Inclinations and Designs. For no Man of that Age was more deeply sensible of the pernicious Consequences of the *Spanish* Power and Aims, or was more eager and assiduous in speaking, writing, and acting against them, than Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

1590.

BUT these new Assignees were not so diligent and careful of the Business, as they ought to have been. For it was a Year after, *March*, 1589-90, before any thing was undertaken by them for the Relief of the Colony. Then Mr. *White*, with three Ships, set Sail from *Plimouth*; and passing by the *West-Indies*, they staid some time there, to perform some Exploits, as they call them, which was to attack and plunder the *Spaniards*, among whom they got a considerable Booty. On the 3d of *August*, they fell in with some low sandy Islands, to the *Westward* of *Wococon*. From thence they went to *Croatan*, and so to *Hatteras*. There they descried a Smoke, at the Place, where the Colony had been left three Years before. The next Morning, they discharged some Cannon, to give Notice of their Arrival; and

and having fitted out two Boats, Captain *Cooke* and Captain *Spicer* went ashore, but found no Man, nor the Sign of any, that had been there lately. The next Day, they prepared to go to *Roanoke*; but the Wind being hard at North-East, one of the Boats, in passing a Bar, was half filled with Water, and the other overfet. Captain *Spicer*, with six more, were drowned; but four, who could swim a little, and did not trust themselves to their Legs on the Shoals, but kept in deep Water, were saved by the Care and Dexterity of Captain *Cooke* in the other Boat. This Accident so discomfited the Sailors, that they could hardly be prevailed upon to make any farther Search for the Colony. But indeed, considering the Shoals and Dangers, with their Ignorance and Inexperience of the Coast, which they unfortunately happened upon in this their first Attempt towards a Settlement, it is rather to be wondered, that they met not with more Accidents and Misfortunes, than they really did.

THE Sailors being at length encouraged by the Forwardness and Readiness of their Captains, two Boats more were fitted out for *Hatteras*, with nineteen Men. When Mr. *White* left the Colony three Years before, they talked of going fifty Miles up into the Main; and it had been agreed between them, that if they left the Place, where they then were, they should write the Name of the Place, to which they went, on some Tree, Door, or Post; and if they had been in any Distress, they should signify it, by making a Cross over it. When they landed therefore, they founded a Trumpet, but received no Answer; and going up to the Fire, they found, it was nothing but the Grass and some rotten Trees burning. Then searching up and down the Island, they at last found three fair *Roman* Letters carved, C. R. O. but without any Sign of Distress; and looking farther, they saw CROATAN, carved in fair Capital Letters on one of the chief Posts, but still without the Cross, as a Sign of Distress. Their Houses were taken down; and an high Palisado built, after the Manner of a Fort. They likewise found, where their Goods had been buried; but many of them had been dug up, and scattered about, and all were spoiled; yet Mr. *White* knew and distinguished several of his own among them. With this joyful Discovery, as they hoped, of where they were, they returned to their Ships; but had like to have been cast away by a violent Storm, that continued all that Night.

THE next Morning, weighing Anchor for *Croatan*, which was an *Indian* Town on the South Part of Cape *Look-out*, one of their Cables broke, and carried off another



1590.

ther Anchor with it. But letting go their third, the Ship went so fast adrift, that she was very near stranding. Discouraged with these Misfortunes, and having but one Anchor left, and their Provisions near spent, they gave over all Thoughts of farther Search for the present, and determined to go to the *West-Indies*, to winter and refresh themselves (chiefly perhaps with more *Spanish* Plunder) and to return in the Spring, to seek their Countrymen. But the Vice-Admiral was obstinately bent upon going directly for *England*; and the Wind being contrary, the rest were obliged, within two Days, to make for the *Western-Islands*, where they arrived the 23d of *September*, 1590, and met with many of the *Queen's* Ships, their own Consort, and divers others. But many suspected, that private Interest was the chief Occasion of their Failure in this Undertaking; and that the Riches, gotten from the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, was the true Reason of their Return, for which the Storm only furnished them with a colourable Pretext. However it is certain, that the Assignees made no farther Search, nor gave themselves any other Trouble about the Matter; but these poor Souls were basely deserted by them, and left a Prey to the barbarous Savages, neither were they ever seen or heard of afterwards.

1591.

THE following Year 1591, Sir *Richard Greenvil* was sent, by the *Queen*, Vice-Admiral to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, with seven Ships of War, and a few other small Vessels, to intercept the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet. At the *Azores*, this small Squadron was surpris'd by fifty three capital Ships, purposely sent from *Spain*; and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was unwilling to leave a great Part of his Men, then on Shore for Water and other Necessaries, to the Insolence and Barbarity of the Islanders, staid so long in getting them off, that he was hemmed in between the Enemy's Fleet and the Island of *Flores*. In this dangerous Situation, he scorned to shew any Signs of Fear, or to owe his Safety to Flight; but he bravely bore down upon the Enemy, and endeavoured to break through them, in which Attempt he maintained a gallant and obstinate Fight, with the best of the *Spanish* Ships, for fifteen Hours together. He was at once laid aboard by the *St. Philip*, a Ship of fifteen hundred Tons and seventy eight large Pieces of Ordinance, and four other of the stoutest Ships in the *Spanish* Fleet, full of Men, in some two hundred, in some five hundred, and in others eight hundred Soldiers, besides Mariners; and he never had less than two large Galleons by his Side, which, from time to time, were relieved by fresh Ships, Men, and Ammunition. Yet he behaved himself with such uncommon Bra-

very

very and Conduct, that he disabled some, sunk others, and obliged them all to retire. Neither did he ever leave the Deck, tho' wounded in the Beginning of the close Fight, till he received a dangerous Wound in the Body by a Musket Bullet. When he went down to have it dressed, he received another Shot in the Head, and his Surgeon was killed by his Side. By this time also most of his bravest Men were slain, his Ship much disabled, his Deck covered with Dead, and Wounded, and scattered Limbs, and his Powder spent to the very last Barrel. Yet in this Condition he ordered the Vessel to be sunk, but it was prevented by the rest of the Officers; tho' many of the Crew joined with him, and the Master-Gunner, if he had not been restrained, would have killed himself, sooner than fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. When the Ship, or rather Wreck, was surrendered, Sir *Richard* was carried on board the *Spanish* Admiral, where he died within two Days, highly admired by the very Enemy, for his extraordinary Courage and Resolution. And when he found the Pangs of Death approach, he said to the Officers, that stood round him, in the *Spanish* Tongue: *Here die I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet Mind, having ended my Life like a true Soldier, that fought for his Country, Queen, Religion, and Honour*: Thus summing up, in short, all the generous Motives, that fire the Breasts of the truly Brave and Great, to exert themselves beyond the common Pitch of Humanity.

AND such was the gallant End of this noble Gentleman, who, next to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was the principal Person concerned in this first Adventure of *Virginia*. He was a Man eminently fitted to serve his Country, in Peace or War, by Land or Sea, and was so deeply rooted in the Affection and Esteem of his illustrious Kinsman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that he honoured his Death with a particular Relation of the Action by his own excellent Pen, which he caused to be immediately printed the latter End of the same Year 1591, to obviate some Aspersions, cast upon him by some of the *Spaniards*. The rest of the *English* Ships having Sea-Room, fought bravely, and did every thing, that could be expected from valiant Men, whilst they had the Advantage of the Wind. The Lord *Howard* was for even hazarding the whole Fleet in the Rescue of Sir *Richard Greenville*, and for charging up to the Place, where he was engaged. But he was over-ruled by the other Officers, whose Prudence is commended even by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; altho' no Person can certainly say, I think, what might have been the Event, had six Ships of War more besides the

1501.

1591. the Privateers, fallen upon an Enemy, whom one Ship alone had for so long a time kept in such warm Action. When the Night parted them from the Enemy, they all went off safe, and in their Way home took several rich Prizes. Sir *Richard's* Ship too, the *Revenge*, of 500 Tons Burthen, and about 20 Iron Guns, made good her Name. For a few Days after she foundered at Sea, and drowned two hundred *Spaniards*, who had been put aboard to carry her to *Spain*.

BUT Sir *Walter Raleigh*, being, by the above-mentioned Assignment, eased in some Measure of the Undertaking of *Virginia*, was soon engaged by his active and enterprising Genius in other Adventures and Discoveries. He contributed generously towards the Discovery of the *North-West* Passage, and other things of the like Nature. But having lost his Royal Mistress's Favour, by debauching one of her Maids of Honour, whom he afterwards married, he undertook in Person, in the Year 1595, the Voyage and Discovery of *Guiana*, a rich Country up the River *Oronaque*, in *South America*. After his Return, he wrote a most excellent Discourse upon his Expedition, in which his chief Aim was to engage the Queen and Nation in the Prosecution of the Enterprize, and Settlement of the Country. But all his Reasons were overpowered by the Envy of some great Men to his Person and Merit; and altho' he was restored to the Queen's Favour, yet he could never get any thing done to Effect in this important and judicious Design. However he never quitted it himself, but sent twice immediately after, to make farther Discoveries, and to keep up the good Dispositions of the Natives towards the *English*. Even after his Fall, and when he was in the Tower, he found Means to continue this Design; and his last Voyage thither, after his Release, with the fatal Consequences of it, is too well known, to need a particular Relation here. Neither was he, notwithstanding the Assignment, negligent or forgetful of the Colony, which had been seated in *Virginia* upon his Account. For he sent five several Times, to search after, and relieve them; and last he dispatched *Samuel Mace*, of *Weymouth*, in *March* 1602. But he, like all the rest, performed nothing, but returned with idle Stories and frivolous Allegations.

HOWEVER, these Efforts of Sir *Walter* were only intended to recover and bring off those poor People, and no ways in Prosecution of his first Design of settling a Colony. So that all Thoughts of *Virginia* were abandoned, and the Project lay dead for near twelve Years, when it was revived by Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold*, who undertook a Voyage thither, and set Sail from *Dartmouth*, on
the

the twenty sixth of *March* 1602, in a small Bark, with thirty two Men. He kept as far North as the Winds would permit, and was the first that came in a direct Course to *America*.

1602.

On the 11th of *May*, being about the Latitude of forty three, they made Land, on the Coast of *New-England*, as it hath been since called. But as all this Continent bore the Name of *Florida*, till the Discovery of the *English* in 1584, so afterwards all that Tract of Country, from 34 to 45 Degrees of Northern Latitude, was called *Virginia*, till from different Settlements it got different Names. The Land was low; the Shore white Sand, and rocky, yet overgrown with fair and stately Trees. Coming to an Anchor, eight *Indians*, in a Shallop, with Mast and Sail, came boldly on board them. By their Signs, and by the Shallop and other things, which they had, they judged, that some *Biscayneers* had been fishing there. But finding no good Harbour, they weighed, and stood to the Southward into the Sea. The next Morning, they found themselves embayed with a mighty Head-land; and going to the neighbouring Hills, they perceived it to be Part of the Continent, almost environed with Islands. Here, in a few Hours, they caught more Cod; then they knew, what to do with; from whence the Place obtained the Name of *Cape-Cod*. And they thence also concluded, that a good Fishery might be found there, in the Months of *March*, *April*, and *May*.

SOON after they went to the Islands, and anchored near one of them. They found it four Miles in Compass, without House or Inhabitant. In it was a Lake, near a Mile in Circuit; and the rest so overgrown with Vines, which covered all the Trees and Bushes, that they could scarce pass through them. They likewise found Plenty of Strawberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries; and divers other Fruits in Bloom, and therefore called the Island *Martha's Vineyard*. They then visited the rest of the Isles, and found them replenished with the like Products. One they named *Elizabeth's Island*, in Honour to their ancient Sovereign, in which they planted Wheat, Barley, Oats, and Pease, which sprung up nine Inches in fourteen Days. From hence they went to the Main, where they stood for some time ravished at the Beauty and Delicacy of the Country. But soon after returning to *Elizabeth's Island*, they spent three Weeks in building a House, in a small Island of about an Acre of Ground, which stood in the Midst of a large Lake of fresh Water, about three Miles in Circumference.

THEY saw several of the Natives, with whom they made mutual Presents, and had some small Traffick. They were

1602. were of an excellent Constitution of Body, active, strong, healthful, and very ingenious, as divers of their Joys testified. The baser Sort would steal, but those of better Rank were very civil and just. Not one of the *English* was affected with any Sickness; but they rather grew more healthy and strong, notwithstanding their bad Diet and Lodging. Twelve had resolved to stay; but, considering how meanly they were provided, they were at last all obliged to leave this Island, not without much Sorrow and Reluctancy, and arrived at *Exmouth* the 23d of July.

1603. THE Beginning of the next Year, died that ever-memorable and glorious Princess, Queen *Elizabeth*, and was succeeded by King *James VI.* of *Scotland*. He was scarce warm in his Throne, before, as a Prefage of his future weak and inglorious Reign, he confined Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Tower, for a most mysterious and inextricable Plot. This great Man, as he was the first Undertaker and Mover of these Discoveries, is usually looked upon as the Founder and Father of our Country. And indeed we are proud to own for such, a Person of his distinguished Merit and Parts, who was one of the brightest Ornaments of his Age and Country, highly in the Favour and Esteem of Queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards the Sacrifice of her mean and pusillanimous Successor. But yet it must be confessed, that his Adventurers touched but once, and then slightly, on our Country; but still kept on in the same unfortunate Tract, on the shoaly and importuous Coast of *North-Carolina*. Altho' his Judgment soon distinguished from the Accounts, he received, the Advantages of *Chesapeake* for seating his Capital City of *Raleigh*; and had his Orders been followed, it might perhaps have given a quite different Turn to the Affairs of the Colony. For it would not only have freed them from the Hazards and Difficulties, they encountered on that dangerous Coast, and every where have supplied them with safe and convenient Harbours, but would have naturally led them to the Search and Discovery of one of the most commodious Countries perhaps in the World, for Shipping and Vessels.

THE same Year 1603, by the Persuasions of Mr. *Richard Hackluyt* (a curious and inquisitive Gentleman, and soon after a Prebend of *Westminster*, who published the noted Collection of Voyages and Travels) the Mayor and Aldermen, with most of the Merchants of *Bristol*, raised a Stock of a thousand Pounds, and fitted out two Vessels. But first they obtained the Leave and Permission of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as Proprietor of the Country, to make Discoveries in *Virginia*. *Martin Pring* was made Captain, an

an understanding Gentleman and able Mariner; and *Robert Saltern*, who had been with Captain *Gosnold* the Year before, was appointed his Assistant and Pilot. But as, for the most Part, they followed Captain *Gosnold's* Course, their Discoveries were nothing extraordinary or different from his.

1603.

BUT another Bark was this Year sent from *London*, under the Command of Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert*, who had likewise been with Captain *Gosnold*. After some small Trade in the *West-Indies*, they fell in with the Coast of *America* in about 37 Degrees of Northern Latitude; and some Authors say, they run up into *Chesapeake Bay*, where the Captain, going ashore, was killed with four of his Men. This struck such a Damp and Discouragement into the rest, that they immediately weighed Anchor, and returned to *England*, without any further Attempt or Discovery.

TWO Years after, Captain *George Weymouth* was sent by the Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, to make Discoveries on the Coast of *Virginia*. He intended to the *Southward* of 39; but was forced by the Winds farther *Northward*, and fell among some Shoals in 41 Deg. 20 Min. But having happily disengaged themselves, on the 18th of *May* they made Land. It appeared to be a main high Land, but they found it an Island of six Miles in Compass. From thence they could discern the Continent and very high Mountains; and coasting among the Islands, adjoining to the Main, they found an excellent Harbour. They dug a Garden the twenty second of *May*; and among their Seeds, they sowed Barley and Pease, which grew up eight Inches in sixteen Days; altho' they judged the Mould much inferior to what they found afterwards on the Main. On the 30th of *May*, the Captain with thirteen more, went to view and discover the Continent; and having found a fair River, running up into the Country, they returned back to bring in the Ship. What River this was, and what Part of the *American* Coast they fell upon, is difficult to determine exactly. For their neglecting to tell us what Course they steered, after they were disengaged from the Shoals, renders it doubtful, whether they fell in with some Part of the *Massachusetts's* Bay; or rather farther *Southward*, on the Coast of *Rhode-Island*, *Naraganset*, or *Connecticut*; altho' I am most inclined to believe, this River was either that of *Naraganset* or *Connecticut*; and the Island, what is now called *Block-Island*. However it is certain, that *Oldmixon*, (the Author of the Book, entitled, *The British Empire in America*) according to his usual Custom, is here

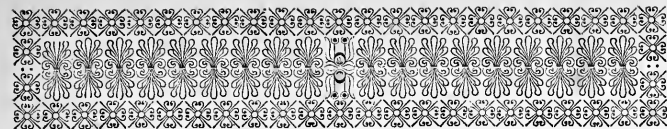
1605.

1605.

most egregiously bewildered and lost. For after having, injudiciously enough, determined the small Island they first made, of six Miles in Compass, to be *Long-Island*, on the Coast of *New-York*, he immediately after, with still greater Absurdity and Grofness, calls this the River of *Powhatan*, now *James River*, to the *Southward*, as he says, of the Bay of *Chesapeake*.


WHEN Captain *Weymouth* returned aboard, he found, that the *Indians* had contracted an Acquaintance with his Crew; that they had had some small Trade together; and that there was much outward Shew of Kindness and Civility between them. For as the *English* intended to inhabit their Country, and as it was the chief Design of the noble Adventurers, who had sent them, to propagate Christianity among those barbarous People, they used them very kindly; and exchanging Hostages, would sometimes lie ashore with them, and they sometimes aboard with the *English*. At last they were very pressing with the Captain, to go to the Main, to trade with their *Bashabes*, or chief Lord. He accordingly manned his Boat with fourteen Hands, and attended them. But having plainly discovered their Treachery, and that it was only a Stratagem to cut them off, he seized five, and ever afterwards treated them with great Civility, but never more trusted them.

HAVING spent some time in sounding all the Isles, Channels, and Inlets, and found four several Ways of bringing a Ship into the Bay, they at last ran theirs twenty six Miles up the River. They found, it flowed eighteen Feet, was a Mile wide forty Miles from the Mouth, had a bold Channel from six to ten Fathom deep, and every half Mile beautiful Coves and Harbours, some of them to contain an hundred Sail of Vessels. The Land was very rich, trending all along in an equal Plain, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green Border of Grass; and the Woods were large and tall, and delightfully watered with many fresh Springs and Rivulets. Leaving their Ship, they went seven Miles higher than the salt Water flowed, and then marched towards the Mountains. But the Weather was so hot, and the Fatigue so great, that having erected a Cross, they willingly returned to their Ship. Soon after, they sailed for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the 18th of *July*; carrying with them the five *Indians*, taken by the Captain, whereof one was a *Sagamo*, or Commander, and three others, Persons of Figure and Distinction in their own Country.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
V I R G I N I A.

B O O K II.

APTAIN *Bartholomew Gosnold* had made a Voyage to the *Northern Parts of Virginia*, in the Year 1602, as hath been before related. He was so wonderfully pleased with the Pleasantness and Fertility of the Places he saw, that, after his Return to *England*, he made it his Business to solicit all his Friends and Acquaintance, to join with him in an Attempt to settle so delightful a Country. After some Years spent in vain, he at last prevailed with Captain *John Smith*, Mr. *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, the Rev. Mr. *Robert Hunt*, and divers others, to join, in the Undertaking. But settling Colonies is an Enterprize of too great Burthen and Expence for a few private Persons; and therefore, after many vain Projects, they applied themselves to several of the Nobility, Gentry, and Merchants, and by their great Charge and Industry, recommended their Scheme so effectually to them, that they came into it very heartily.

AND first, Letters patent were obtained from King *James I.* bearing Date the 10th of *April*, 1606, to Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, Knights, *Richard Hackluyt*, Clerk, Prebendary of *Westminster*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, with others unnamed, for the *Southern Colony*; and to *Thomas Hanham*, and *Ralegh Gilbert*, Esqrs, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, Gentlemen, and others unnamed,

1606.

1606.

unnamed, for the *Northern* Colony. By this Charter, all that Tract of Country, from 34 to 45 Degrees of *North* Latitude, which then went under the common Name of *Virginia*, was divided into two Parts; called the First Colony and the Second. The First or *Southern* Colony was designed for the City of *London*, and such as would adventure with them, to discover and chuse a Place of Settlement, any where between the Degrees of 34 and 41. The Second or *Northern* Part, was appropriated to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Plimouth*, and the *Western* Parts of *England*, and all those, that would adventure and join with them, to make their Choice, any where between the Degrees of 38 and 45; provided, there should be at least an hundred Miles Distance between the two Colonies. For each of them was to extend fifty Miles from the Place of their first Habitation, each way along the Coast. But I shall make no Abstract of this Charter, having caused it to be printed at large in the Appendix, to which I refer the Reader.

BUT besides this Charter, the King gave divers Articles, Instructions, and Orders, under his Sign Manual, and the Privy Seal of *England*, dated the 20th of *November*, 1606; wherein he establishes and ordains a Council, under the Name of the King's Council for *Virginia*. This consisted of the following Persons; Sir *William Wade*, Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Walter Cope*, Sir *George More*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *Henry Montagu*, Recorder of the City of *London*, and Sir *William Romney*, Knights; *John Dodderidge*, Solicitor General, and *Thomas Warr*, Esqrs; *John Eldred*, of the City of *London*, *Thomas James*, of *Bristol*, and *James Bagg*, of *Plimouth*, in the County of *Devon*, Merchants. But these being soon found too few, and by Reason of the Distance of their Habitations from each other, difficult to be got together in any competent Number, his Majesty, by an Ordinance dated the 9th of *March* following, augmented this Council with Sir *Thomas Challenor*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *Fulke Grevil*, Sir *John Scot*, Sir *Robert Mansel*, Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, Sir *Morris Berkeley*, Sir *Edward Michelborne*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Clerk of the Privy Council, Sir *Robert Killigrew*, Sir *Herbert Croft*, Sir *George Copping*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, and Sir *Anthony Palmer*, Knights, nominated to him by and on the Behalf of the first Colony; and with Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Mallet*, Sir *John Gilbert*, Sir *Thomas Freake*, Sir *Richard Hawkins*, and Sir *Bartholomew Mitchel*, Knights; *Thomas Seamer*, *Bernard Greenvil*,

Greenvil, and *Edward Rogers*, Esqrs; and *Matthew Sutcliffe*, Doctor of Divinity, and afterwards Dean of *Exeter*, nominated to him by and on the Behalf of the second Colony.

1606.

IN this last Instrument, there was a Distinction and Separation made of the two Councils; but in the former of the 20th of *November*, Sir *William Wade*, and the rest, were constituted his Majesty's Council for both Colonies, "for all Matters that should happen in *Virginia*, or any the Territories of *America*, between 34 and 45 Degrees of North Latitude, according to the Purport and Tenor of the Letters patent: That they should have full Power and Authority, at the Pleasure, and in the Name of his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, to give Directions to the Councils, resident in *America*, for the good Government of the People there, and for the proper ordering and disposing all Causes within the same, in Substance as near to the Common Law of *England*, and the Equity thereof, as might be; reserving to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, a Power to increase, alter, or change the said Council, at their Will and Pleasure: And that this his Majesty's Council in *England*, should nominate and appoint the first Members of the several Councils, to be resident in the Colonies.

"That the said Councils, resident in the Colonies, or the major Part of them, should chuse one of their own Body, not being a Minister of God's Word, to be President of the same, and to continue in that Office by the Space of one whole Year, and no longer: And that it should be lawful for the major Part of the said Councils, upon any just Cause, either of Absence or otherwise, to remove the President, or any other of the Council; and in Case of Death or such Removal, to elect another into the vacant Place: Provided always, that the Number of each of the said Councils should not exceed thirteen.

"That the said Presidents, Councils, and the Ministers, should provide, that the true Word and Service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said Colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the Savages bordering upon them, according to the Rites and Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

"THAT they should not suffer any to withdraw the People of the said Colonies from the Allegiance of the King, his Heirs, or Successors; but should cause all Persons so offending, to be apprehended and imprisoned, till full and due Reformation, or if the Cause so required, should send them to *England*, with all convenient Speed, there to receive condign Punishment.

1606.

“ THAT all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, should be had, inhabited, and enjoyed, within the said Colonies, as the like Estates are held and enjoyed, by the Laws in *England*.

“ THAT Tumults, Rebellion, Conspiracy, Mutiny, and Sedition, together with Murder, Manslaughter, Incest, Rapes, and Adultery, committed within any of the Degrees aforesaid, (and no other Offences) should be punished by Death without Benefit of Clergy, except in Case of Manslaughter, to which Clergy should be allowed: And that the said Presidents and Councils, within their several Limits and Precincts, should have full Power and Authority, to hear and determine concerning the said Offences, in Manner and Form following; *viz.* by a Jury of twelve honest and indifferent Persons, returned by proper Officers, and sworn upon the Evangelists, who should, according to the Evidence given, upon their Oath, and according to the Truth in their Consciences, convict or acquit the several Persons so accused, and tried by them: That every Person who should voluntarily confess the said Offences, or should stand mute, and refuse to plead, or make direct Answer, should be, and be held as fully convicted of the same, as if he had been found guilty by the Verdict of the twelve Jurors aforesaid: That the said Presidents and Councils, or the Major Part of them, within their several Precincts and Limits, should have full Power and Authority, to give Judgment of Death upon every such Offender, without Benefit of Clergy, except in Case of Manslaughter only: And that no Person, so adjudged or condemned, should be reprieved, but by the Consent of the said President and Council, or the major Part of them; nor should receive full Pardon, or be absolutely discharged from the said Offences, but by the Pardon of the King, his Heirs, or Successors, under the Great Seal of *England*: And finally, that all Persons, offending as aforesaid, within the Degrees abovementioned, but out of the Precincts of their own Colony, should be tried and punished in their proper and respective Colony.

“ THAT the said Presidents and Councils, within their several Precincts and Limits, should have Power and Authority, to hear and determine all other Wrongs, Trespases, and Misdemeanors whatsoever; and on sufficient Proof upon Oath, should respectively punish the Offenders, either by reasonable corporal Punishment and Imprisonment, or else by awarding such Damages, or other Satisfaction, to the Parties aggrieved, as to them, or the

“ more

“ more Part of them, should seem fit and convenient : And
“ that the said Presidents and Councils should have Power
“ to punish all Manner of Excess, through Drunkenness
“ or otherwise, and all loitering, idle, and vagrant Per-
“ sons, within their respective Precincts, according to their
“ best Discretions, and with such convenient Punishment,
“ as they, or the most Part of them, should think fit :
“ That these judicial Proceedings should be made summa-
“ rily and verbally, without Writing, till they came to the
“ Judgment or Sentence, which should be briefly registred
“ into a Book, kept for that Purpose, together with the
“ Cause, for which the said Judgment or Sentence was
“ given, subscribed by the said President and Council, or
“ by such of them as gave the Judgment.

“ THAT for five Years, next after their landing on the
“ Coast of *Virginia*, the said several Colonies, and every
“ Person thereof, should trade altogether in one Stock, or in
“ two or three Stocks at most, and should bring all the Fruits
“ of their Labours there, with all their Goods and Com-
“ modities from *England* or elsewhere, into several Maga-
“ zines or Storehouses, for that Purpose to be erected, in
“ such Order, Manner, and Form, as the Councils of the
“ respective Colonies, or the more Part of them, should
“ prescribe and direct : That there should be annually cho-
“ sen by the President and Council of each Colony, or the
“ major Part of them, one Person of their Colony, to be
“ Treasurer or Cape-Merchant of the same, to take Charge
“ of, and to manage, all Goods and Wares, brought into,
“ or delivered out of, the said Magazines ; upon whose
“ Death, voluntary Resignation, or Removal for any just
“ and reasonable Cause, it should be lawful for the said
“ President and Council, to elect any other, or others, in
“ his Room : That there should also be elected, by the
“ said President and Council, two others (or more, if need
“ be) Persons of Discretion ; the one to enter into a Book,
“ kept for that Purpose, all Goods, Wares, and Merchan-
“ dises, brought into ; and the other, to charge, in a like
“ Book, all taken out of the said Magazines or Storehouses ;
“ which Clerks should continue in their Places, only at the
“ Will of the President and Council of their respective Co-
“ lony : And lastly, that every Person of each of the said
“ Colonies, should be furnished with Necessaries out of the
“ said Magazines, for the Space of five Years, by the Ap-
“ pointment, Direction, and Order, of the President and
“ Council of their respective Colonies, or of the Cape-
“ Merchant and two Clerks, or the major Part of them.

1606.

“ THAT the Adventurers of the First Colony should chuse, out of themselves, one or more Companies, each consisting of three Persons at the least, to reside in or near *London*, or at such other Place or Places, as the Council for that Colony, for the time being, or the most Part of them, during the said five Years, should think fit: In the same Manner, that the Adventurers of the Second Colony should chuse the like Companies, to be resident at or near *Plimouth*, or at such one, two, or three other Places or Ports, as the Council for that Colony should think fit: And that these minor Companies should, from time to time, take Care and Charge of the Trade, and an Account of all the Goods, Wares, and Merchandises, that should be sent from *England* to their respective Colonies, and brought from the Colonies into *England*, and of all other Things, relating to the Affairs and Profits of their several Companies.

“ THAT no Person should be admitted to abide or remain in the said Colonies, but such as should take, not only the usual Oath of Obedience, but also the Oath, prescribed in the last Session of Parliament, holden at *Westminster* in the fourth Year of his Majesty's Reign, for due Obedience to the King, his Heirs, and Successors.

“ THAT the Presidents and Councils of the said Colonies, or the major Part of them, should have Power to constitute, make, and ordain, from time to time, Laws, Ordinances, and Officers, for the better Order, Government, and Peace of their respective Colonies; provided nevertheless, that those Ordinances and Constitutions did not touch any Party in Life or Member: And that the said Laws and Ordinances should stand and continue in full Force, till the same should be otherwise altered or made void by the King, his Heirs, or Successors, or by his Majesty's Council in *England* for *Virginia*, or by their own Council, there resident: Provided always, that the said Alterations should stand with, and be in Substance consonant to, the Laws of *England*, or the Equity thereof.

“ THAT all Persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen People in those Parts, and use all proper Means to draw them to the true Service and Knowledge of God, and that all just and charitable Courses should be taken with such of them, as would conform themselves to any good and sociable Traffick, thereby the sooner to bring them to the Knowledge of God, and the Obedience of the King, his Heirs, and Successors, under such
“ severe

“ severe Pains and Punishments, as should be inflicted by
 “ the respective Presidents and Councils of the several Co-
 “ lonies. 1606.

“ THAT as the said Colonies should, from time to
 “ time, encrease in Plantation, the King, his Heirs, and
 “ Successors, should ordain and give such Order, and fur-
 “ ther Instructions, Laws, Constitutions, and Ordinances,
 “ as by them should be thought fit and convenient: Pro-
 “ vided always, that they be such as might stand with, and
 “ be consonant to the Laws of *England*, or the Equity
 “ thereof.

“ AND lastly, that his Majesty’s Council in *England*
 “ for *Virginia*, should take such Oath, as should be limit-
 “ ed and appointed by the Privy Council; and each Coun-
 “ sellor, resident in the Colonies, should take such Oath,
 “ as should be prescribed by the King’s Council in *England*
 “ for *Virginia*: And that these, as well as all future Or-
 “ ders and Instructions of the King, his Heirs, or Succef-
 “ sors, should be transmitted over to the several Councils,
 “ resident in the said Colonies, under the legal Seal of the
 “ King’s Council in *England* for *Virginia*.”

THESE Articles contain several Things of an extraor-
 dinary Nature; which Sir *John Randolph*, in the Sketch,
 he has left of the Beginning of his History of *Virginia*, prom-
 ised afterwards to animadvert upon. I am no Lawyer,
 and therefore shall not presume to enter deeply into the
 Matter. I shall only transiently remark, that, notwith-
 standing the frequent Repetition of the Laws of *England*,
 and the Equity thereof, his Majesty seems, in some things,
 to have deviated grossly from them. He has certainly made
 sufficient Provision for his own despotic Authority; and
 has attributed an extravagant and illegal Power to the Pre-
 sidents and Councils. For he has placed the whole Legis-
 lative Power solely in them, without any Representative of
 the People, contrary to a noted Maxim of the *English*
 Constitution; That all Freemen are to be governed by Laws,
 made with their own Consent, either in Person, or by their
 Representatives. He has also appointed Juries only in Cases
 of Life and Death; and has left all other Points, relating
 to the Liberty and private Property of the Subject, wholly
 to the Pleasure and Determination of the Presidents and
 Councils. He has indeed, agreeably to the Dictates of his
 own Nature, been express enough with Respect to Rebel-
 lion, Conspiracy, and other Offences immediately against
 the Magistrate; but then he has been very sparing in all
 other criminal Matters. For altho’ he has made Adultery
 punishable with Death, contrary to the Laws of *England*,
 and

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and contrary to a greater, the Law of the Gospel; in the noted Determination of our B. Saviour, concerning the Woman taken in Adultery; yet he has passed over all the several Species of Robbery, Burglary, and Felony, with other Crimes, capital by the Laws of *England*, and declared, that none, but those there specified, should be subject to the Punishment of Death.

HOWEVER, furnished with these Powers and Authorities, the First or *Southern* Colony, which still retains the Name of *Virginia*, was undertaken and begun by several Nobleman, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and Citizens, in and about *London*; and they chose Sir *Thomas Smith*, a very eminent and wealthy Merchant of *London*, their Treasurer, to have the chief Management of their Affairs, and to summon and preside in all Meetings of the Council and Company in *England*. He had been the chief of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Assignees, and was either now, or soon after, Governor of the *East-India* Company; and had also been sent, two Years before, his Majesty's Ambassador to the Emperor of *Russia*. And next, having provided two Ships and a small Bark, they committed the Transportation of the Colony to Captain *Christopher Newport*, who was esteemed a Mariner of Ability and Experience on the *American* Coasts. For he had fourteen Years before, *Anno* 1592, with much Reputation and Honour, conducted an Expedition against the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*; where, with three Ships and a small Bark, he took several Prizes, plundered and burnt some Towns, and got a considerable Booty.

To him therefore, by an Instrument, bearing Date the 10th of *December* 1606, under the legal Seal of the Council, they gave Power to appoint all Captains, Soldiers, and Mariners, and to have the sole Charge and Command of the same, and of the whole Voyage, from the Date thereof, till they should land on the Coast of *Virginia*; and in Case of his Death, the several Captains of the Ships and Bark were ordered and impowered, to proceed and carry them to the Coast of *Virginia* afore said. To Captain *Newport*, Capt. *Bartholomew Gosnold*, and Captain *John Ratcliffe*, they also delivered several Instruments, close sealed with the Councils Seal, which they, the Survivors, or Survivor of them, should, within twenty four Hours after their Arrival on the Coast of *Virginia*, and not before, open and unseal, and publish the Names of the Persons, therein set down, who should be declared and taken to be his Majesty's Council for that Colony: That the said Council should immediately proceed to the Choice and Nomination
of

of a President, who should have two Votes in all Matters of Controversy and Question, where the Voices happened to be equal; and should have full Power and Authority, with the Advice of the rest of the Council, or the greater Part of them, to govern, rule, and command, all the Captains and Soldiers, with all other Persons whatsoever of the said Colony: And that the President, immediately upon his Election, should, in the Presence of the Council, and of twenty others of the principal Adventurers in the Voyage, to be by the President and Council called thereto, take his Oath, according to a Form prescribed, to bear true Allegiance to the King, and for the Performance of his Duty in the Place and Office of President; after which he should administer the like Oath to each of the Council particularly. And finally, Captain *Newport* was commanded, with such a Number of Men, as should be assigned him by the President and Council, to bestow two Months in the Search and Discovery of the Rivers and Ports of the Country, and to give present Order for the lading the two Ships (the Bark being designed to remain in the Country) with such principal Commodities and Merchandise, as could there be had and found, and to return with the said Ships, full laden, bringing a particular Account of every thing, by the last of *May* following, if God permit.

To these Orders the Council added other Instructions, by way of Advice, concerning their strict Observation of the above-mentioned Ordinances by the King's Majesty, delivered to them under the Privy Seal; concerning the Choice of a Place, and the Manner of seating themselves; the necessary Orders and Methods of Discovery; their Caution before, and Behaviour towards, the Natives; with various other Counsels and Directions for the better conducting themselves and the Enterprize. And as the Council in *England* were ever solicitous and intent on the Discovery of the *South-Sea*, as the certain and infallible Way to immense Riches, they were commanded, if they happened to discover divers navigable Rivers, and among them any, that had two main Branches, if the Difference was not great, to make Choice of that, which tended most towards the *North-West*; since the other Sea, as they judged, would be soonest found that Way. And they were to discover, if they could, whether the River, on which they seated, sprung out of the Mountains or out of Lakes. For if it rose from any Lake, it was likely, that the Passage to the other Sea would be the more easy, and that out of the same Lake they might find some other Stream, running the contrary Way, towards the *East-India*, or *South-Sea*. And they con-

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concluded lastly and chiefly, that the Way to prosper and obtain Success was to make themselves all of one Mind, for their own and their Country's Good, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all Goodness, since every Plantation, which he did not plant, would certainly be rooted out.

ALL these Orders and Instructions being put into a Box, they set Sail from *Blackwall* the 19th of *December* 1606; but were kept six Weeks on the Coast of *England* by contrary Winds. Even then they neglected the Council's last salutary Advice, concerning Unity and Concord among themselves. For they began to fall into such Factions and Discords, as would have ruined the whole Voyage, had not Mr. *Hunt*, their Preacher, by his prudent Conduct and pious Exhortations, allayed their Fury and Dissension. That good Man, altho' he was so sick and weak the whole Time, that few expected his Recovery, and had the additional Aggravation of being the principal Object of their Malice and Reproach, yet bore all with the utmost Meekness and Patience. And he never betrayed the least seeming Desire to leave the Business, altho' his Habitation was but twenty Miles from the *Downs*, but preferred the Service of God and his Country, in so good a Voyage, before all other private Respects or Considerations whatsoever.

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As soon as they got clear of the Coast of *England*, they took the old Rout by the *Canaries*, where they watered. Here their Quarrels and Dissensions grew so high, that Captain *Smith* was seized and committed close Prisoner. It was suggested by Mr. *Wingfield* and some others of the chief among them, who envied his Repute and Interest with the Company, that he intended to murder the Council, usurp the Government, and make himself King of *Virginia*; and this, they pretended, would be attested and proved against him by several of his Confederates, who were dispersed in all the three Ships. Upon these scandalous Suggestions, he was suspected, and kept in close Confinement thirteen Weeks. From the *Canaries* they went to the *West-Indies*; where having traded with the Natives, and staid three Weeks to refresh themselves, they steered away Northward, in Search of *Virginia*. The Mariners had passed their Reckoning three Days, and yet found no Land; which so disheartened the Company, that Captain *Ratcliffe*, Commander of the Bark, was urgent to bare up the Helm, and return for *England*. But a violent Storm, obliging them to hull it all Night under their bare Poles, drove them providentially, beyond all their Expectations, to their desired Port. For the next Day, being the 26th of *April* 1607, they

they made a Coast, which none of them had ever seen. The first Land, they descried, they called *Cape-Henry*, in Honour to the Prince of *Wales*; as the Northern Cape was named *Cape-Charles*, after the Duke of *York*, King *James's* second Son at that time, and afterwards King *Charles I.* of *England*. Thirty Men went ashore on *Cape-Henry*, to recreate and refresh themselves; but they were suddenly assaulted by five Savages, who wounded two of them very dangerously.

WITHIN these Capes they found a Country, which, according to their own Description, might claim the Prerogative over the most pleasant Places in the known World, for large and majestic navigable Rivers, for beautiful Mountains, Hills, Plains, Vallies, Rivulets, and Brooks, gurgling down, and running most pleasantly into a fair Bay, encompassed on all Sides, except at the Mouth, with fruitful and delightful Land. In the Bay and Rivers were many Islands, both great and small, some woody, others plain, but most of them low and uninhabited. So that Heaven and Earth seemed never to have agreed better, to frame a Place for Man's commodious and delightful Habitation, were it fully cultivated and inhabited by industrious People.

THE Night of their Arrival, the Box was opened, and the Orders for Government read. In them *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Bartholomew Gosnold*, *John Smith*, *Christopher Newport*, *John Ratcliffe*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were appointed of the Council. They were employed, till the 13th of *May*, in seeking a Place for their Settlement; and then they resolved on a *Peninsula*, on the North Side of the River *Powhatan*, about forty Miles from the Mouth. After which, Mr. *Wingfield* was chosen President, the Council sworn, and an Oration made, why Captain *Smith* was not admitted of the Council, as the rest. But besides these Gentlemen and Mr. *Hunt*, their Chaplain, there came over another Person of very great Distinction and Quality. This was the Honourable Mr. *George Percy*, of the ancient Family of the *Percies*, so renowned in Story, and Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*. Neither did his Actions here disgrace the Nobility of his Birth. For he justly obtained the Reputation of being a Gentleman of great Honour, Courage, and Industry. He seems to have come merely a Volunteer upon the Expedition, and bore no Post or Office of Government; which might perhaps have proceeded from the Cloud, under which his Brother, the Earl of *Northumberland*, then lay. For on some distant Surmises, and upon Account of

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Edward-Maria Wingfield
President.

Mr.

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Edward-
Maria
Wingfield
President.

Mr. *Percy*, his Kinsman, who was concerned in that Treason, the Earl was suspected to have been privy to the Gun-powder Plot; and was therefore thrown into the Tower, where he lay above twelve Years, was fined thirty thousand Pounds *Sterling* in the *Star-Chamber*, and underwent much hard Usage. And besides Mr. *Percy*, there were *Anthony Gosnold*, Captain *Gabriel Archer*, *Nathaniel Powel*, *Kellam Throgmorton*, *William Smithes*, *Richard Frith*, and divers others of Note in this first Plantation. And Mr. *Thomas Studley* was elected the first Cape-Merchant, or Treasurer, of the Colony.

HAVING pitched upon a Place to settle, they called it *James-Town*, in Honour of his Majesty then reigning, and every Man fell to work. The Council contrive the Fort; and of the rest, some cut down and clear away the Trees, to make a Place to pitch their Tents; some get Clapboard, to relade the Ships; whilst others were employed in making Gardens and Nets, and providing other Necessaries and Conveniences. The *Indians* often visited them kindly, which was a great Satisfaction to them. For the President's Jealousy would admit of no Exercise at Arms, nor any other Fortification, but the Boughs of Trees cast together in the Form of a half Moon, by the extraordinary Pains and Diligence of Captain *Kendall*. And soon after *Newport* and *Smith*, with twenty others, were sent to discover the Head of the River *Powhatan*, which, from King *James*, was afterwards called *James River*. They passed by divers small Habitations; and in six Days arrived at a Town, called *Powhatan*, consisting of about twelve Houses, pleasantly seated on a Hill, on the North Side of the River, with three fertile Isles before it. This Place I judge to be either Mrs. *Mayo's*, or else *Marring's* Plantation; and it was the principal Seat, by Inheritance, of *Powhatan*, Emperor of the Country. To this Place they found the River navigable; but within a Mile higher, by reason of the Rocks and Isles, there was no Passage for a small Boat; and this they called the Falls. They were kindly treated by the People in all Parts; but being returned to *James-Town*, they found seventeen Men hurt, and a Boy slain, by the *Indians*; and had not a Cross-bar Shot from the Ships happened to strike a Bough from a Tree among them, which frightened, and made them retire, the *English* had been all cut off, being securely at Work, and their Arms in dry Fats. After this the President permitted the Fort to be palisadoed, the Ordinance to be mounted, and the Men to be armed and exercised. For many and sudden were the Assaults and Ambuscades of the *Indians*; and the *English*,
by

by their disorderly straggling were often hurt, whilst they, by the Nimbleness of their Heels, escaped. 1607.

ALTHO' Captain *Newport* was named of the Council, yet was he only hired for their Transportation, and was to return with the Ships. The time of his Departure approaching, Captain *Smith's* Enemies pretended, out of Tenderness and Compassion to him, to refer him to the Council in *England*, to receive a Reprimand, rather than by pushing on their Accusation, to endanger his Life, or utterly destroy his Reputation. But he, being a Man of high Spirit, and conscious of his Innocency, scorned their Charity, and defied their Malice; and behaved himself in the whole Affair with such Clearness and Prudence, that all the Company perceived his Integrity, and their Envy and Injustice. Insisting therefore upon his Trial, the Persons, suborned to accuse him, accused their Suborners; and altho' many Falshoods were alledged against him, yet were they all so plainly disproved, that it raised a general Resentment in the Hearts of the Audience against such unjust Commanders, and the President was condemned to pay him two hundred Pounds, in Reparation of the Injury. In Consequence hereof, all the President's Effects were seized in Part of Satisfaction; but *Smith* generously presented them to the publick Store for the Use of the Colony. Soon after their Heats and Animosities were appeased by the good Doctrine and Exhortations of Mr. *Hunt*, who procured Captain *Smith* to be admitted of the Council; and the next Day, they all received the Communion, in Confirmation of their Peace and Concord. The Day after, being the 15th of *June*, the *Indians* voluntarily sued for Peace, and Captain *Newport* set Sail for *England*, leaving an hundred Persons behind him in *Virginia*.

THE Colony, being now left to their Fortunes, fell into such a violent Sickness, that within ten Days scarce ten among them could either go or stand. This was chiefly owing to the Difference of their Diet. For whilst the Ships staid, either by Way of Traffic, or for Money, or Love, they got a daily Proportion of Biscuit and other Provisions from the Sailers, who always abounded even to Luxury and Profusion. But now they were all reduced to the common Kettle; which contained the Allowance of half a Pint of Wheat, and as much Barley, boiled with Water, for a Man a Day. And this, having funk for six and twenty Weeks in the Ship's Hold, contained nothing substantial, being only Bran, with as many Worms as Grains. The Council in *England*, but especially Sir *Thomas Smith*, their Treasurer, were justly charged with much

*Edward-
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much Cruelty and Inhumanity for these scanty and ill-conditioned Provisions; which Management however continued, more or less, the whole time of that Gentleman's Administration of the Affairs of the Company and Colony. This unwholesome Food, together with their continual Toil and Labour in the Extremity of the Heat, carried off fifty of the Company by *September*; in which Number was Captain *Gosnold*, the first Mover and Projector of the whole Business. The rest, that survived by the Care of Captain *Smith*, and the Skill and Diligence of Mr. *Thomas Wotton*, their Surgeon-General, subsisted on Crabs and Sturgeon, till *September*.

John Rat-
 cliffe Presi-
 dent.

BUT the President, all this while, had felt neither Want nor Sickness. For he had embezzled the public Oatmeal, Sack, *Aqua-vitæ*, Beef, and Eggs, and had lived in great Plenty and Elegance. Soon after, having projected an Escape to *England* in the Bark, it raised such Indignation in the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Captain *John Ratcliffe* in his Room. *Kendall* was likewise at the same time disgraced, and removed from the Council, for being concerned in these male Practices of the President. And now, when all their Provisions were spent, the Sturgeon gone, and no Prospect of Relief from any Quarter left, God wrought so wonderful a Change in the Hearts of the *Indians*, that they brought such Plenty of their Fruits and Provisions, as no Man wanted.

Newport was gone, *Gosnold* dead, and *Wingfield* and *Kendall* in Disgrace; neither were their Places supplied by the Election of any others, according to the Authority given. So that the whole Government and Power of the Council now rested in the new President, *Martin*, and *Smith*. But the President and *Martin*, being little esteemed or beloved, of weak Judgment in Dangers, and less Industry in Peace, at first very candidly and wisely permitted every thing to *Smith's* Management, who was peculiarly fitted for conducting such an Enterprise, by a good Judgment, undaunted Courage, and an invincible Industry and Resolution. He immediately set about the building of *James-Town*; and by good Words, fair Promises, and his own Example (himself always bearing the greatest Share of the Labour and Fatigue) he pushed on the Work with such Vigor and Diligence, that he had, in a short time, provided most of them with Lodgings, neglecting any for himself. After which, finding the *Autumn* Superfluity of the Savages begin to decrease, he resolved to search the Country for Trade. The Want of the Language and a sufficient Power, with Cloathing for his Men and other

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Necessaries, were infinite Impediments to this Design, but no Discouragement to his bold and adventurous Spirit. For with five or six more, he went down the River, in a Shallop, to *Kicquotan*; where at first they scorned them, as poor famished Creatures, and would offer, in Derision, a Handful of Corn, or a Piece of Bread, for their Swords, Muskets, or Cloaths. But *Smith*, finding, that nothing was to be had by Trade and Courtesy, ventured to exceed his Commission, and entered upon such Measures, as Necessity and the Exigency of his Case required. And therefore, having discharged his Muskets among them, he ran his Boat ashore; at which the *Indians* all fled into the Woods. Then marching up to their Houses, they saw great Heaps of Corn. But *Smith* with much ado restrained his hungry Soldiers from immediately seizing it; expecting, the Savages would return to assault them, as it soon after happened. For sixty or seventy of them, some painted black, some red, some white, and some party-coloured, issued out of the Woods, singing and dancing, and making a most hideous Noise, with their *Okée* borne before them. This was an Idol, made of Skins, stuffed with Moss, and all painted and hung with Chains and Copper. For there was no Place in *Virginia* found so barbarous and void of Humanity, in which they had not a Religion, Deer, Bows, and Arrows. In this Savage Manner, being armed with Clubs, Targets, Bows, and Arrows, they charged the *English*, who received them so warmly with a second Volley of Muskets, loaded with Pistol Shot, that down fell their God, and several of them lay sprawling on the Ground. The rest fled again into the Woods, and soon after sent one of their Priests, to redeem their God and offer Peace. *Smith* told him, if only six would come unarmed, and load his Boat with Corn, he would not only restore their *Okée*, but would be their Friend, and give them Beads, Copper, and Hatchets besides. Which was agreed to, and performed to the Satisfaction of both Parties. And then they brought him Venison, Turkeys, Wildfowl, Bread, and whatever else they had, singing and dancing in Sign of Friendship, till he departed. And in his Return up the River, he discovered the Town and Country of *Warraqueake*.

AFTER his Return to *James-Town*, he made several Journeys by Land, and discovered the People of *Chickahominy*. In one of these, *Wingfield* and *Kendall*, seeing all things at random in *Smith's* Absence, and the Company's Scorn of the President's Weakness and *Martin's* never-mending Sicknes, took Advantage of the Occasion, and combined with the Sailors and others, to regain their

1607. former Authority, or at least to seize the Bark, which *Smith* had fitted for a trading Voyage, and in her to escape and go for *England*. But *Smith*, returning unexpectedly, with much Difficulty prevented their Design. For he was obliged to turn the Cannon of the Fort upon them, and so force them to stay or sink in the River; which Action cost the Life of Captain *Kendall*. And not long after, their new President *Ratcliffe* and Captain *Gabriel Archer* intended to abandon the Country; but their Project was likewise restrained and suppressed by *Smith*. The *Spaniards* was never more greedy of Gold, than he was of Provisions; neither did the rest desire more eagerly to abandon the Country, than he to keep it. And therefore, having found Plenty of Corn up the River *Chickabominy*, he went a trading Voyage thither, and was received by hundreds of *Indians*, who stood in divers Places with Baskets, expecting his Coming. And now the Winter likewise coming on, the Rivers were so covered with Swans, Geese, and Ducks, that they daily feasted with good Bread, *Virginia* Pease, Pumpions, and Passimmons, and with Fish, Fowl, and divers Sorts of wild Beasts, as fat as they could well eat them. So that none of their humourfome and tustaffety Sparks (as *Smith* calls them) were any longer discontented, or desirous to go to *England*.

J. Ratcliffe
President.

BUT Captain *Smith's* Activity and Industry, in discovering the Country, and providing for the Colony, could not screen him from the vain Exceptions and Murmurs of many Idlers at *James-Town*. He was censured by some, and even taxed by the Council, of being too remiss and negligent in discovering the Head of *Chickabominy* River. And therefore soon after, with much Labour in cutting away Trees and clearing a Passage, he went up as far, as his Barge could pass. And then leaving her in a broad Bay, beyond the Reach of the *Indians* Shot, he himself, with two *English* more, and two *Indians*, proceeded higher up in a Canoe. When he left the Barge, he ordered, that none should go ashore, till his Return. But he was not long gone, before his disorderly and ungovernable Crew disobeyed this Command, and thereby gave the *Indians* an Opportunity of surprising one *George Cassen*; and indeed narrowly escaped being all cut off to a Man. For *Opechancanough*, Brother to *Powhatan*, and King of *Pamunkey*, a subtle and savage Barbarian, was there with three hundred Bowmen. And after having extorted from *Cassen*, which Way his Captain was gone, he put him to Death in a most cruel and barbarous Manner, and then went in Pursuit of *Smith*.

CAPTAIN

CAPTAIN *Smith* had got up twenty Miles higher, among the Swamps and Marshes at the Head of the River; and leaving the Canoe to the Care of *Robinson* and *Emry*, his two Men, he himself was gone to kill some Provisions. *Opechancanough* first happened on the two Men, asleep, as it was supposed, by the Fire; and shooting them full of Arrows, slew them. And then they traced the Captain; who, finding himself beset, bound an *Indian*, whom he had for his Guide, to his Arm for a Buckler, and received their Attack so smartly with his Fire-Arms, that he soon laid three dead upon the Spot, and so wounded and galled divers others, that none of them cared to approach him. He himself received a slight Wound in the Thigh, and had many Arrows sticking in his Cloaths, but without any great Hurt. Having the *Indians* thus at bay, he endeavoured to sheer off to his Canoe; but regarding them, as he went, more than his Way, he suddenly slipped up to his Middle into an oozy Creek. Altho' he was thus hampered, yet none of them durst come near him, till, being almost dead with Cold, he threw away his Arms and surrendered. Then drawing him out, they carried him to the Fire, where his Men were slain, and carefully chafed his benumbed Limbs. For this Winter, 1607, was extremely cold in *Virginia*, as it was likewise remarkable for an extraordinary Frost in *Europe*.

WHEN *Smith* was a little recovered, he asked for their Captain, and being shewed *Opechancanough*, he presented him with a round Ivory double compass Dial. They wondered greatly at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch, because of the Glasse, that covered them. But when he explained by it the Roundness of the Earth, the Skies, the Sphere of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, with other surprising and unheard of Doctrines to them, they all stood amazed. Yet within an Hour after, they tied him to a Tree, and drew up in Order to shoot him. But the King holding up the Compass in his Hand, they all laid down their Arms at once. And then, with much Triumph; and in martial Order, they conducted him to *Orapakes*, which was a hunting Town and Seat, lying on the upper Part of *Chickahominy* Swamp, on the North Side, belonging to, and much frequented by *Powhatan* and the Imperial Family, on Account of the Abundance of Game, it afforded. In their March, they drew themselves all up in File; and *Opechancanough*, being in the Midst, had the *English* Swords and Muskets carried before him. Captain *Smith* came next, led by three great Savages, holding him fast by each Arm; and on either

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Side went six in File, with their Arrows notched. When they arrived at the Town, the Women and Children stood staring at a human Creature, so unlike whatever they had before seen; and the Soldiers, that had taken him, performed their military Exercise, throwing themselves with great Dexterity into their War-Dance, with strange Distortions and antic Postures, singing and yelling out frightful and inharmonious Notes and Screeches. But they treated *Smith* here very kindly, and feasted him with that Formality and Abundance, that he suspected, they intended to fatten and to eat him. In the midst of these melancholy Thoughts and Surmises, one of them, in Return for some Beads and Toys, which *Smith* had given him at his first Arrival, brought him his Gown; which was of singular Service to him, and a very seasonable Defence against the excessive Coldness of the Season.

BUT whilst his Mind was thus taken up with imaginary Deaths, he had like to have met a real one. For a Man came violently upon him, and would have slain him for the Death of his Son, had he not been prevented by his Guard. Whether this was one of those, that were wounded, when *Smith* was taken Prisoner, or whether he was dying a natural Death, which they, through Ignorance and Superstition, attributed to some Sorcery in *Smith*, is not easy to be determined. However, they carried him to recover the poor Man, breathing out his last. *Smith* told them, he had a Water at *James-Town*, that would do it, if they would let him fetch it. But they had more Sense than to permit that, or to trust him out of their Hands.

THEY were now making the greatest Preparations they could, to assault *James-Town*. To this End they desired *Smith's* Advice and Assistance; and, as a Reward, promised him Life, Liberty, Land, and Women. But he represented to them the extreme Danger and Difficulty of the Attempt; and described the Springing of Mines, great Guns, and other warlike Engines, in such a Manner, as exceedingly frightened and amazed them. And then he persuaded some of them to go to *James-Town*, under Pretence of fetching some Toys; and in Part of a Table-Book, he informed them at the Fort, what was intended, and directed them, how to behave and affright the Messengers, and without fail, to send him such Things, as he wrote for. Within three Days, the Messengers returned, through as bitter Weather as could be, for Frost and Snow; and were greatly astonished themselves, as well as all that heard it, how *Smith* could divine, or the Paper speak. For all things were delivered them, and had happened at *James-Town*, according as he foretold.

ALL

ALL Thoughts of an Attack upon *James-Town* being therefore laid aside, they led *Smith* in Show and Triumph about the Country. And first they carried him to those, that dwelt on *Youghtanund*, or as it is now called, *Pamunkey* River. For the main River, which is since named *York* River, was then called *Pamunkey*; altho' the Country of *Pamunkey*, over which *Opechancanough* was King, lay in the Fork of the River, and his chief Seat was nearly, where the *Pamunkey* Town now is. From the *Youghtanunds* they led him to the *Mattaponies*, the *Piankatanks*, the *Nantaughtacunds*, on *Rappahanock*, and the *Nominies*, on *Patowmack* River. And having passed him over all those Rivers, they brought him back, through several other Nations, to *Opechancanough's* Habitation at *Pamunkey*; where, with frightful Howlings, and many strange and hellish Ceremonies, they conjured him three Days, to know, as they told him, whether he intended them well or ill. After this, they brought him a Bag of Gunpowder, which they judged to be a Grain, springing out of the Earth, as other Grains did; and therefore they carefully preserved it, intending to plant it the next Spring, as they did their Corn. And then he was invited, and feasted, in a sumptuous Manner, by *Opitchapan*, second Brother to *Powhatan*, and next Heir to all his Dominions. But here, as in all other Places, none of them would touch a Morfel with him; altho' they would feast very merrily upon what he left. At last they conducted him to *Werowocomoco*, where *Powhatan*, the Emperor, was. *Werowocomoco* lay on the North Side of *York* River, in *Glocester* County, nearly opposite to the Mouth of *Queen's* Creek, and about twenty five Miles below the Fork of the River. It was at that Time *Powhatan's* principal Place of Residence; altho' afterwards, not admiring the near Neighbourhood of the *English*, he retired to *Orapakes*.

Powhatan himself was a tall, well-proportioned Man, of a four Aspect, and of a very strong and hardy Constitution of Body. His proper Name was *Wahunsonacock*; and he had that of *Powhatan*, from the Town so called, near the Falls of *James* River, which was the chief Seat and Metropolis of his hereditary Dominions; and he seems to have removed to *Werowocomoco* for Conveniency, after he had extended his Conquests far North. For his hereditary Countries were only *Powhatan*, *Arrohatoek*, about twelve Miles lower down, which hath since been corrupted to *Haddibaddocks*, *Appamatock*, *Youghtanund*, *Pamunkey*, and *Mattapony*; to which may be added, *Werowocomoco*, and *Kiskiack*, or as it hath since been called, *Cheefecake*, be-

1607. between *Williamsburg* and *York*. All the rest were his Conquests; and they were bounded on the *South* by *James River*, with all its Branches, from the Mouth to the Falls, and so across the Country, nearly as high as the Falls of all the great Rivers, over *Patowmack* even to *Patuxen* in *Maryland*. And some Nations also on the *Eastern Shore*, owned Subjection to him. These Dominions descended, not to his Sons or Children, but first to his Brothers, whereof he had three, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*; and then to his Sisters, according to their Seniority; and after them to the Heirs male or female of the eldest Sister, and so of the rest, but never to the Heirs of the Males.

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HE lived in great barbaric State and Magnificence. He usually had about his Person forty or fifty of the tallest Men, his Country afforded; which Guard was, after this time, increased to two hundred, on Account of the *English*. Every Night, upon the four Corners of his House were placed four Sentinels, each a slight Shot from the other; and every half Hour, one from the main Guard hollowed, shaking his Finger between his Lips, and every Sentinel was obliged to answer from his Stand. If any failed, an Officer was immediately sent, who beat him extremely. At all his ancient Inheritances, he had Houses, some of them thirty or forty Yards long; and at every House, Provision for his Entertainment, according to the Season. He kept as many Women, as he pleased; and when he laid down, one sat at his Head, and another at his Feet; but when he was up, one sat on his right Hand, and another on his left. And as he was weary of them, he bestowed them on such of his Servants, as had most pleased him, or best deserved them at his Hands.

ALTHO' both himself and People were very barbarous, and void of all Letters and Civility, yet was there such a Government among them, that the Magistrates for good Command, and the People for due Subjection, excelled many Places, that would be counted very civil. He had under him above thirty inferior Kings or Werowances, who had Power of Life and Death, but were bound to govern according to the Customs of their Country. However, his Will was, in all Cases, their supreme Law, and must be obeyed. They all knew their several Lands, Habitations, and Limits to fish, fowl, or hunt in. But they held all of their great Werowance, *Powhatan*; to whom they paid Tribute of Skins, Beads, Copper, Pearl, Deer, Turkeys, wild Beasts, and Corn. All his Subjects revered him, not only as a King, but as half a God; and it was curious

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to behold, with what Fear and Adoration they obeyed him. For at his Feet, they presented whatever he commanded; and a Frown of his Brow would make their greatest Spirits tremble. And indeed it was no Wonder; for he was very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such, as offended him, with Variety of Cruelty and the most exquisite Torture.

WHEN *Smith* was presented to him, he was about sixty Years of Age, something hoary, and of a savage Majesty and Grandeur. He sat before a Fire, upon a wooden Throne, like a Bedstead, clothed with a great Robe of Raccoon Skins, and with a Coronet of Feathers about his Head. On either Hand, sat a young Wench, of about sixteen or eighteen Years of Age; and along each Side of the House, a Row of Men, and behind them, as many Women, painted and adorned in their best Manner. When *Smith* entered, all the People gave a Shout; and the Queen of *Appamatox* was appointed to bring him Water to wash his Hands, and another brought a Bunch of Feathers, instead of a Towel, to dry them. After that, having feasted him in their best Manner, a long Consultation was held; at the Conclusion of which, two great Stones were brought before *Powhatan*, and *Smith* was dragged to them, and his Head laid thereon, in order to have his Brains beat out with Clubs. But *Pocahontas*, the King's darling Daughter, when no Entreaty could prevail, got his Head into her Arms, and laid her own upon it, to save his Life. Whereupon *Powhatan* was persuaded to let him live, to make himself Hatchets, and her Bells, Beads, and Copper. For the King himself would make his own Robes, Shoes, Bows, Arrows, and Pots; and would hunt, plant, and do every thing else, like the rest; and therefore they thought him of all Occupations, as well as themselves. And besides this surprising Tenderness and Affection of *Pocahontas*, who was at that Time about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, Captain *Smith* received many Services from *Nantaquaus*, the Emperor's Son. He was a Youth of the comeliest and most manly Person, and of the highest Spirit and Courage, of any in the Court of *Powhatan*; and he embraced *Smith's* Interest with much Warmth and Heartiness, and did him many Acts of Friendship and Kindness.

Two Days after, *Powhatan*, having disguised himself in the most frightful Manner, he could, caused Captain *Smith* to be carried to a great House in the Woods, and there to be left alone on a Mat by the Fire. Not long after, from behind a Mat, which divided the House, was made the most doleful Noise, he had ever heard; and then *Powhatan*, with about two Hundred more, as frightful as him-

1607. self, came to him, and told him, they were now Friends, and he should immediately go to *James-Town*, to send him two great Guns and a Grindstone; for which he would give him the Country of *Capahowick*, and ever after esteem him, as his Son *Nantaquaus*. Captain *Smith* put little Confidence in his Words, and expected every Minute, even till he got to *James-Town*, to be put to one Kind of Death or other. But *Powhatan* sent him off immediately, with twelve Guides; and having lodged that Night in the Woods, he arrived the next Morning early at the Fort.

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AND thus Captain *Smith*, after seven Weeks Captivity, returned to *James-Town*, with the Advantage of being much improved in the Knowledge of the Country and their Language. He used his Guides with the utmost Kindness; and shewed *Rawhunt*, *Powhatan*'s trusty Servant, two Demi-Culverins and a Mill-stone, to carry to their Master. Their Weight was sufficient to deter them from the Attempt; but when they saw him discharge them, loaded with Stones, among the Boughs of a great Tree, hung with Icicles, the Terror of the Report, and the Ratling of the Boughs and Ice, so frightened the poor Savages, that they ran away, half dead with Fear. But having regained some Conference with them, he gave them such Toys for themselves, and sent *Powhatan*, his Women, and Children, such Presents, as gave a general satisfaction.

AT *James-Town* every thing was in Confusion, and the strongest were preparing once more to run away with the Bark. But *Smith*, with the Hazard of his Life, forced her the third time, to stay or sink in the River. And the next Day, several combined with the President, to put him to Death by the Levitical Law, for the Lives of *Robinson* and *Emry*, whom, they said, he had led to their End, and was consequently the Author of their Death. But he quickly took such Order with those Lawyers, that he laid them by the Heels, till he sent some of them Prisoners to *England*. And then, by his Relation of the Plenty, he had seen among the Natives, especially at *Werowocomoco*, and of the State and Bounty of *Powhatan*, till then unknown, he very much appeased their Fears, and revived their dead Spirits. And *Pocahontas*, with her Attendants, ever once in four or five Days, brought him so much Provision, as saved the Lives of many, who must otherwise have perished with Hunger. Several others also of the Natives repaired daily to the Fort, with such Provisions, as sufficiently served them from Hand to Mouth. Part they always brought *Smith*, as Presents from their Kings or *Pocahontas*; and he,

as their Market-Clerk, set the Price upon the rest. So much had he astonished and enchanted those poor Souls, whilst their Prisoner, that they esteemed him, as a Demi-God, and were ready, at his Beck, to do, whatever he commanded. And the God, who created all things, they knew, he adored as his God, and would, in their Discourse, call him the God of Captain *Smith*.

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AND this their high Opinion was much increased by the Arrival of Captain *Newport*, whom *Smith*, among them, called his Father, nearly about the time, that he had foretold. For the Treasurer and Council in *England* sent two Ships, the latter End of this Year, with a Supply of Provisions, and an hundred and twenty Men. These came, well furnished with all things, that could be imagined necessary, as Captain *Smith* tells us. But however, we must always make some Allowance in his Account of these things. For he was a very great Friend to Sir *Thomas Smith*; and we shall see hereafter, from several authentic Papers, but especially from a Representation of our General Assembly, among the Records in the *Capitol*, that that Officer was most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, particularly in this Matter of Supplies. One of these Ships was commanded by Captain *Newport*, the other by Captain *Francis Nelson*, an honest Man and expert Mariner. But such was the Lewardness of his Ship, that altho' he was within Sight of Cape *Henry*, yet by contrary Winds and stormy Weather, he was driven off the Coast, and forced to the *West-Indies*, to repair his Masts, and to get a Recruit of Wood and Water. But before this, the President and Council so much envied *Smith's* Esteem among the Natives, altho' they all equally participated of the good Effects of it, that to raise their Credit and Authority above his, they would give them four times as much for their Commodities, as he had appointed. And now, out of Joy for the Arrival of this first Supply, and to gratify the Mariners, they gave them free Liberty to trade, as they pleased. So that in a short time, what was before bought for an Ounce of Copper, could not be had for a Pound. To which Captain *Newport's* profuse Presents to *Powhatan* were added, and gave the finishing Blow to their Trade. They served indeed to entertain and keep up the high Idea of *Newport's* Greatness, which *Smith* had raised in *Powhatan*, and made him very desirous to see him.

ACCORDINGLY the Bark was prepared, and a great Coil there was at *James-Town* to set him off. Captain *Smith* and Mr. *Matthew Scrivener*, a discreet and understanding Gentleman, newly arrived and admitted of the Council,

1607. Council, attended him with a Guard of thirty or forty chosen Men. When they came to *Werowocomoco*, *Newport* began to entertain many Fears and Suspicions of Treachery. But *Smith*, with twenty Men, undertook to encounter the worst, that could happen; and going ashore, was kindly conducted by two or three hundred *Indians* to the Town. *Powhatan* strained himself, upon this Occasion, to the utmost of his Greatness to entertain them, with great Shouts of Joy, Orations, and Protestations, and with the most sumptuous and plentiful Banquet, he could provide. He sat on a Bed of Mats, with a Pillow of Leather embroidered with Pearl and white Beads; and was clothed in a Robe of Skins, as large as an *Irish* Mantle. At his Head and Feet, sat a handsome young Woman; and on each Side the House, twenty of his Concubines, with their Heads and Shoulders painted red, and a great Chain of white Beads about each of their Necks. Before them, sat his chief Men, in the like Order; and above forty Platters of fine Bread stood in two Files, on each Side of the Door. Four or five hundred People attended, as a Guard; and Proclamation was made, that none, upon Pain of Death, should presume to do the *English* any Wrong or Discourtesy. And thus did *Smith* and he spend the Day, in a kind Renewal of their former Acquaintance, and in feasting, and seeing them dance and sing, and play their other Feats of Humour and Activity. And that Night, the *English* were quartered and lodged by *Powhatan*.

THE next Morning, *Newport* came ashore, and they spent three or four Days more in feasting, and dancing, and trading. In all which time, *Powhatan* behaved himself with such Loftiness and State, and yet with so much Discretion, that they could not forbear admiring his natural Parts and Understanding. Scorning to trade, as his Subjects did, he told *Newport*, that he esteemed him a great *Werowance*, as well as himself; that it was not agreeable to their Dignity to trade, in that peddling Manner, for Trifles; and that therefore, if he would lay down all his Commodities together, he would chuse, what he liked, and give him their Value. *Smith*, who was their Interpreter, and knew *Powhatan's* Disposition, told the Company, his Intent was only to cheat them. But *Newport*, thinking to out-brave this stately Barbarian in Ostentation and Greatness, and by his Bounty to obtain from him, whatever he pleased, accepted the Condition. And then *Powhatan*, having taken what he liked, valued his Corn at such a Rate, that they had not four Bushels, for what they expected twenty Hogheads. This bred some Distaste between the two *English* Captains;

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Captains. But *Smith*, smothering his Dislike before the Savages, glanced several Trifles in the Eyes of *Powhatan*, who soon fixed his Fancy on some blue Beads. He was a long time importunate to have them; but *Smith* valued them so much the higher, and told him, they were composed of a rare Substance of the Colour of the Skies, and were not to be worn by any, but the greatest Kings in the World. This made him the more eager and mad for them; so that, for a Pound or two of blue Beads, he drew from him two or three hundred Bushels of Corn, and yet parted in good Friendship. Upon this Voyage *Newport* gave *Powhatan* a Boy, named *Thomas Savage*, whom he called his Son; and *Powhatan* gave him *Namontack*, a Servant of his, of a shrewd and subtle Capacity.

FROM *Werowocomoco* they went to *Pamunkey*, where they were feasted in like Manner by *Opechancanough*. *Smith* fitted him also, at the same Rates, with blue Beads; which, by this Means, grew into such Estimation, that none durst wear them, but their great Kings, or their Wives and Children. At length weighing from thence, they returned to *James-Town*; where this new Supply of Corn being lodged with the rest, their Store-house was by some Accident fired, and so the Town, which, being thatched with Reeds, burnt with that Fierceness and Violence, as soon consumed their wooden Fortifications, with their Arms, Apparel, and Bedding, and much private Goods and Provision. The good Mr. *Hunt* lost all his Library, with every thing else, that he had, except the Cloaths on his Back; yet no one ever heard him murmur or repine at it.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this unfortunate Accident, they had yet a tolerable Stock of Oatmeal, Meal, and Corn, had not the Ship loitered fourteen Weeks in the Country, when she might as well have been gone in fourteen Days. For they thereby helped to consume a great Part of the Colony's Store, and near all the Provisions, sent to be landed. When they departed, they left them, what little they thought proper to spare; which they were glad to receive, and make up an Account, highly commending their Care and Providence, lest they should discourage the Council at home from sending any more. Yet those Persons, who had either Money, spare Cloaths, Credit for Bills of Exchange, Gold Rings, Furs, or any such valuable Commodities, were always welcome to this floating Tavern. Such was their Necessity and Misfortune, to be under the Lash of those vile Commanders, and to buy their own Provisions at fifteen times the Value; suffering them to feast at their Charge, whilst themselves were obliged to fast, and yet dare

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dare not repine, lest they should incur the Censure of being factious and seditious Persons. By these Means and Management, the Colony was rather burthened than relieved, by the vast Charge of this Ship; and being reduced to Meal and Water, and exposed, by the Loss of their Town, to the most bitter Cold and Frost, above half of them died. *Smith* indeed and *Scrivener* endeavoured to correct all Abuses, and to put things into a better Posture; but they could do nothing to Effect, being overpowered by the President and his Party, who had long before this laid aside their Deference to *Smith's* Judgment and Management.

ABOUT this time also, there sprung up a very troublesome Sect of Gold-finders, which was headed by Captain *Martin*, and warmly embraced by *Newport*. There was no Thought, no Discourse, no Hope, and no Work, but to dig Gold, wash Gold, refine Gold, and load Gold. And notwithstanding Captain *Smith's* warm and judicious Representations, how absurd it was, to neglect other things of immediate Use and Necessity, to load such a drunken Ship with gilded Dust; yet was he over-ruled, and her Returns made in a Parcel of glittering Dirt, which is found in various Parts of the Country, and which they very sanguinely concluded to be Gold-Dust. And in her they sent home Mr. *Wingfield* and Captain *Archer*, to seek some better Place of Employment in *England*. For they had assumed many empty Titles of Offices here, as Admirals, Recorders, Chronologers, Justices of the Peace and of the Courts of Plea, with other such idle and insignificant Pretensions.

AND now *Martin* and the President, carrying all things, as they pleased, by their Faction, lived in great Splendor by the Sale of the Store's Commodities, as if they had been their proper and hereditary Revenue. And the Spring approaching, Captain *Smith* and Mr. *Scrivener* prepared Fields for Corn, and applied themselves to rebuild *James-Town*, and repair the Church; Store-house, and Fortifications. But whilst they were all busily engaged at their several Labours, Captain *Nelson*, who had been driven off the Coast, as was before said, and as they all thought, lost, unexpectedly arrived, to their great Joy. He had been very careful and provident, and had fed his Company on what he got at the *West-India* Islands; so that the Provisions he now landed, joined to their former Store, were sufficient to support them half a Year, according to their present Allowance. He himself also freely imparted, whatever he had; and by his fair and generous Behaviour, he got the Good-word and Love of the whole Colony. And the President,

sident, to send some good News by this Ship, ordered Captain *Smith*, with sixty able Men, to discover the Country of the *Monacan*, or as they were afterwards called, the *Manakin Indians*; a Nation above the Falls of *James-River*, not subject to *Powhatan*, but profest Enemies to him and his Dominions. For that strange Blood-thirstiness, and, as it were, judicial Infatuation, of warring against and exterminating each other, which at present infests our *Indians*, and has been the Cause of the utter Extirpation of most of the Nations on this Continent, was even then rooted in their Nature, and may be observed in the oldest Accounts, that we have of them. However as it was the Time of planting Corn, and this Ship was to be dispatched, Captain *Smith* thought those and other things more urgent at that time, and therefore deferred the Discovery, till he could perform it with less Charge and more Leisure.

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WHEN *Newport* left the Country, *Powhatan* presented him with twenty Turkeys, and in return demanded twenty Swords, which were immediately sent him. Afterwards he presented Captain *Smith* with the like Number; but having no Swords in Return, he was highly offended, and ordered his People to take them by Stratagem or Force. So that they became insufferably troublesome and insolent, would surprisè the *English* at their Work, and seise their Swords at the very Ports of *James-Town*. The President and *Martin*, who now bore the Sway, would keep their Houses, or do any thing, rather than transgress a strict Command from *England*, not to offend them. But at length they happened to meddle with Captain *Smith*, who gave them a rough Encounter, hunted them up and down the Island, and seised seven, whom he whipped and imprisoned. By this and other smart Proceedings, he brought them to Submission; and they unanimously confessed, that they acted by *Powhatan's* Direction, in order to get Swords from the *English*, to cut their own Throats; and they likewise discovered, how, where, and when, this Design was to be put in Execution; all which was confirmed by many concurrent Circumstances. But *Powhatan*, finding, that things went not according to his Desire and Intent, sent *Pocahontas* with Presents, to excuse himself for the Injuries done by some of his ungovernable Captains; and he desired their Liberty for this time, with Assurances of his Love and Friendship for ever. And *Smith* having given them a proper Correction, delivered them to *Pocahontas*; for whose Sake alone he pretended to save their Lives, and give them their Liberty. Thus, without the Death of one Man, he restrained their Insolence, and brought them into such perfect

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THERE had been a Dispute between *Martin* and *Smith*, whether this Ship should be laded with Cedar or Dirt. But her Freight being concluded to be Cedar, she was, by the Diligence of her Captain and *Smith*, quickly dispatched. In her Captain *Martin*, being always sickly and unserviceable, and having his Head full of the idle Whimsy of a Gold Mine, was most willingly admitted to return to *England*. In these two Ships, besides Mr. *Scrivener*, came *Walter Ruffel*, Doctor of Physick, *Richard Fetherstone*, and some others of Note. And whilst *Nelson* and *Smith* were engaged in loading the Ship, Mr. *Scrivener* was neither idle nor slow in carrying on the Works of *James-Town*. But the President's Prodigality and State went so deep, and was so sensibly felt in their small Store, that he and *Smith* were obliged to bind him and his Parasites to the Rules of Proportion.

ON the second of *June* Captain *Nelson* fell down the River, and was accompanied to the Capes by *Smith*, who, in an open Boat of about three Tons Burthen, together with Dr. *Ruffel* and thirteen more, was going to discover *Chesapeake Bay*. Parting with the Ship at *Cape Henry*, they stood over to those Islands, which were then called, after him their first Discoverer, *Smith's Islands*. The first People, they saw, were two grim and stout *Indians* on *Cape Charles*, with long Poles, like Javelins, headed with Bone. They sternly demanded, what they were, and what they wanted; but grew afterwards more kind, and directed them to *Accomack*, the Habitation of their *Wero-wance*. This King treated them very kindly, and was the comliest, most proper, and civil *Indian*, they had met with. They spoke the Language of *Powhatan*, and at that time lay under the Misfortune of a strange Mortality, which they attributed to a Miracle. Passing on from thence, they coasted it along, and searched every Inlet and Bay, that seemed proper for Harbours or Habitations; and many Harbours they found for small Vessels, but none fit to receive large Ships. Then spying many Islands out in the Bay, they bore up for them; but before they could reach them, there rose such a Gust of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, and Rain, that with great Difficulty they escaped being foundered. These Islands they named *Ruffel's Islands*,
after

after Dr. *Ruffel*; and they are the same with those, now called *Tanger Islands*. Being in Want of Water, and finding none in these Islands, they were obliged to follow the next Eastern Channel, which brought them into the River *Wighcocomoco*, which is the River now called *Pokomoke*. The Northern Point, at the Mouth, they called *Watkins's Point*, and a Hill, on the South of *Pokomoke Bay*, *Keel's Hill*, after two of the Company. Running up the River, the Natives at first threatened, with great Fury, to assault them; but at last became very tractable and kind. They dug in several Places, and searched their Habitations, yet could get but little Water, and that mere Puddle. Yet such was their Distress two Days after, that they would have refused a Quart full of Gold for a Pint of that Puddle.

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DEPARTING from thence, they found on a high Point of Land, which they called *Point Ployer*, a Pond of fresh Water, but so exceedingly hot, that they supposed it to be some Bath. Then standing over to some other Islands, there arose such another Thunder-Gust, that their Mast and Sail was blown overboard, and such mighty Waves over-racked their Boat, that they could scarce, with much Labour in bailing out the Water, keep her from sinking. Two Days they staid among these Islands, and because of the Gusts and Storms, that then happened, they called the Place *Limbo*; but they are the same, which have since been named *Wats's Islands*. Having repaired the Loss of their Sail with their Shirts, they stood over again to the Eastern Shore, and fell in with a pretty convenient River, then called *Cuscarawock*. This is, what is laid down in our present Charts by the Name of *Wighcocomoco*, by whatever Accident that Name hath shifted, in Process of Time, from *Pokomoke River* to this. Here the Natives opposed them very furiously; but leaving some Toys in their Huts, they brought some of them over at last, to be very fond and obliging. On this River lived the Nations of *Sarapinagh*, *Nause*, *Arseck*, and *Nantaquack*, who were the best Merchants, and greatest Traders of all the *Indians* of this Country. They had the finest Furs, and made large Quantities of the best *Roanoke*; which was a Sort of white Bead, that occasioned as much Dissension among those *Barbarians*, as Gold and Silver among Christians. They told the *English* of, and highly extolled, a great Nation, called the *Massawomecks*; in Search of whom they returned again, by *Limbo*, into the Bay. And finding the Coast of the Eastern Shore, nothing but shallow, broken Isles, and for the most Part without fresh Water, they stood away from

1608. from thence across the Bay, bearing a little upwards, and fell in on the Western Side, above the Mouth of *Patuxen* River, against some high Cliffs, which they called *Riccard's Cliffs*. From hence they sailed thirty Leagues farther Northward, without finding any Inhabitants. The Coast was all along well watered, but very mountainous and barren, except the Vallies, which were rich and fertile, but extremely thick wooded, and therefore abounded in Wolves, Bears, Deer, and other wild Beasts. They passed by many Coves and small Streams. The first they found navigable for a Ship, they called *Bolus River*, because the Clay, in many Places under the Cliffs, grew up in red and white Knobs, like Gum out of Trees, and they concluded it to be *Bole Armeniac* and *Terra Sigillata*. This River, by it's Situation and Bearings, must be the same with *Patapsco* in *Maryland*.

And now Captain *Smith's* Crew, who at first feared nothing so much as his too hasty Return, began to be very much soiled and fatigued. They had laid twelve or fourteen Days in that open Boat, were often tired at the Oars, and their Bread was spoiled and rotten with the Rain; so that they were very importunate with him to return. But he reminded them of the memorable Resolution of Sir *Ralph Lane's* Company, in the Discovery of the River *Moratic*, who insisted on his going forward, as long as they had a Dog left, which, being boiled with Sassafras Leaves, would afford them a rich Repast in their Return. And he told them, what a Shame it would be, to oblige him to return, with so much Provision, as they then had, when they could scarce say, where they had been, or give any Account of what they were sent to discover: That they could not deny, but he had shared with them, in the worst of what was past; and he was willing, to take to himself the worst Part of what was to come: That it was not likely, any thing worse should befall them, than what had already happened; and that to return was as dangerous, as to proceed. He therefore advised them, to resume their lost Courage; for he was determined not to desist, till he had seen the *Massawomecks*, found *Patowmack*, or traced the Head of the Bay. But after this, they were detained by the Wind and Weather three Days; which added such a Discouragement, that three or four fell sick, whose Dissatisfaction and piteous Complaints at last prevailed with him to return.

On the 16th of *June*, they fell in with the Mouth of *Patowmack*. Their Fears being now gone, and Men recovered, they all agreed to take some Pains in the Discovery of

of that seven-mile broad River. For altho' *Smith* had been carried over it in his Captivity, yet he knew it not again by the Mouth. For thirty Miles they found no Inhabitants; but afterwards were conducted, by two Savages, up a little bayed Creek, towards *Nominy*, where they discovered the Woods laid with Ambuscades, to the Number of three or four Thousand *Indians*, strangely grimmed and disguised, and making a horrible shouting and yelling. They made many Bravadoes, and *Smith* prepared, with as great seeming Willingness, to encounter them. But commanding some Muskets to be discharged on Purpose, the grazing of the Bullets on the Water, together with the Report and Eccho of the Woods, so frightened and amazed them, that they threw down their Arms, and became very kind and hearty Friends. They owned, they were commanded to betray that Party of *English*, by the Direction of *Powhatan*, who was desired so to do, by some discontented Persons at *James-Town*, because Captain *Smith* obliged them to stay in the Country against their Will. They afterwards went up the River, as high as they could with their Boat; and were received in some Places kindly, and in others in a hostile Manner. Up a small River, then called *Quiyough*, which I take to be *Patowmack* Creek, was a Mine like Antimony. In this the *Indians* dug, and washing away the Dross in a clear Brook, which ran by, they put up the Remainder in little Bags, and sold it all over the Country, to deck their Bodies, Faces, and Idols; which made them look like Blackamores, dusted over with Silver. *Newport* had carried some of these Bags home, and assured them, that they were found, upon Trial, to contain half Silver. Being therefore very eager after this Mine, they obtained Guides from *Japazaws*, King of *Patowmack*, who lived at the Mouth of that little River, and went up to it; but all, they got, proved of no Value. Towards the Falls of *Patowmack*, they met several Parties of *Indians* in Canoes, loaded with the Flesh of Bears, Deer, and other wild Beasts, which they generously imparted to them; and in divers Places, they saw that Abundance of Fish, lying with their Heads above Water, that their Barge driving among them, for Want of a Net, they attempted to catch them with a frying Pan. But they found that a bad Instrument to catch Fish.

FROM *Patowmack* they set Sail for *Rappahanock*, or as it was by many called, *Toppahanock* River; where the Captain intended to visit his Captivity-Acquaintance. But their Boat, by Reason of the Lowness of the Tide, ran aground on some Shoals, at the Mouth of that River, where they

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spied many Fish, lurking in the Sedge. The Captain diverted himself by nailing them to the Ground with his Sword; and the rest betaking themselves to the same Sport, they took more Fish in an Hour, than they could eat in a day. But Captain *Smith*, taking from his Sword a Fish, like a Thornback, with a long Tail, in the Midst of which was a poisoned Sting, of two or three Inches Length, bearded like a Saw on each Side, she struck her Sting into his Wrist an Inch and a half. No Blood or Wound was seen, but only a little blue Spot; yet such was the Extremity of Pain, and his Hand, Arm, and Shoulder, were so swoln in four Hours Time, that they all, with much Sorrow, expected his Death, and prepared his Grave in an Island by, as he himself directed. But it pleased God, by the Application of an Oil, which Dr. *Russel* had with him, his Torment was so eased and asswaged before Night, that to the great Joy of the Company, he eat of the Fish for his Supper. And in Memory of this Accident, they called the Isle *Stingray Island*, after the Name of the Fish.

THEIR Provisions being near spent, and being also deterred by this Misfortune, they set Sail immediately for *James-Town*; and passing by the Mouths of *Piankatank* and *Pamunkey* Rivers, they arrived the next Day at *Kicquotan*. From thence they proceeded up to *Warraqueake*; where trimming their Barge with painted Streamers, and other such Devices, they were taken for a *Spanish* Frigot at *James-Town*, where they arrived the 21st of *July*. There they found the last Supply of Men all sick; and of the rest, some lame, some bruised, and all in a Tumult and Uproar against the unreasonable Pride and Cruelty of the President, whom they would as strangely have tormented with Revenge, had it not been for this seasonable Arrival of the Discovery Barge. He had riotously consumed the Store, and had greatly harrassed and fatigued the People, in building an unnecessary House of Pleasure for himself in the Woods. But their Fury was much appeased, by the good News of this Discovery, and by the Hopes, from some mistaken Interpretation of the Savage's Account, that our Bay reached to the *South-Sea*, or somewhere near it; but above all, by the deposing *Ratcliffe*, and Captain *Smith*'s taking the Government upon himself.

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Smith substituted his good Friend Mr. *Scrivener*, who then lay exceeding ill of a Calenture, in the Presidency; and having settled all things to his own, and the People's Satisfaction, he staid but three Days at *James-Town*. For the 24th of *July*, he set forward, with twelve Men, to finish the Discovery of the Bay. They were detained two or

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or three Days at *Kicquotan*, by contrary Winds, where they were kindly entertained and feasted by the King, and in Diversion fired several Rockets, which greatly terrified and astonished the poor Savages. From thence they anchored, the first Night, at *Stingray* Island; and the next Day, crossing the Mouth of *Patowmack*, they hastened to the River *Bolus*. A little beyond that, they found the Bay divided into four Streams, all which they searched, as far as they could sail. Two of them they found inhabited, the Rivers *Susquesahanock*, and *Tockwogh*, since called *Sassafras* River. In crossing the Bay, they met seven or eight Canoes, full of *Massawomecks*, a great and powerful Nation of *Indians* inhabiting upon some of the Lakes of *Canada*, and the Original perhaps of those, at present known by the Name of the *Senecas* or *Six Nations*. They were at that Time profest Enemies, and a great Terror, to the Nations dwelling on the upper Part of our Bay, and had then been at War with the *Tockwoghs*. After mutual Threats of Assault between them and the *English*, they were at last induced to go on board the Barge; and by interchangeable Presents becoming good Friends, they departed without farther Intercourse or Conversation.

THE next Day, entering the River *Tockwogh*, they were invironed with a Fleet of Canoes, full of armed Men. But coming to a Parley, and the *Tockwoghs* seeing the *Massawomeck* Arms, which they had presented to the *English* the Day before, and which the *English* made them believe, they had taken in War, they were soon reconciled, and conducted them to their Town. It was pallisadoed round, mantled with the Barks of Trees, had Scaffolds, like Mounts, and was breasted very formally. The Men, Women, and Children did their utmost to express their Affection; and welcomed them with Songs, Dances, Fruits, and Furs, and with whatever else they had. Here they saw many Hatchets, Knives, and Pieces of Iron and Brass, which, they told them, they had from the *Susquesahanocks*, a mighty Nation, dwelling on the chief of the four Branches at the Head of the Bay, two Days Journey above the Falls of that River. They prevailed with two *Tockwoghs* to go and invite some of the *Susquesahanocks* to them. In three or four Days, sixty of those gigantic People came down, with Presents of various Kinds; and the Wind being too high for their Canoes, five of their chief Werowances came boldly on board the *English* Barge, and crossed the Bay to *Tockwogh*.

THIS Nation of the *Susquesahanocks* could muster about six Hundred fighting Men, and lived in pallisadoed

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Towns, to defend themselves against the *Massawomecks*, their mortal Enemies. They were very large, well-proportioned Men, and appeared like Giants to the *English* and other *Indians*; yet seemed of an honest and simple Disposition, and were scarcely restrained from adoring the *English*, as Gods. And their Language and Attire were very suitable to their Stature and Appearance. For their Language sounded deep, and solemn, and hollow, like a Voice in a Vault. Their Attire was the Skins of Bears and Wolves, so cut, that the Man's Head went through the Neck, and the Ears of the Bear were fastened on his Shoulders, while the Nose and Teeth hung dangling down upon his Breast. Behind was another Bear's Face split, with a Paw hanging at the Nose. And their Sleeves, coming down to their Elbows, were the Necks of Bears, with their Arms going through the Mouth, and Paws hanging to the Noses. One had the Head of a Wolf, hanging to a Chain, for a Jewel; and his Tobacco Pipe was three Quarters of a Yard long, carved with a Bird, a Deer, and other Devices at the great End; which was sufficient to beat out a Man's Brains. They measured the Calf of the largest Man's Leg, and found it three Quarters of a Yard about, and all the rest of his Limbs were in Proportion; so that he seemed the stateliest and most goodly Personage, they had ever beheld. His Arrows were five Quarters long, headed with the Splinters of a white chrystal-like Stone, in Form of a Heart, an Inch broad, and an Inch and half, or more, long. These he carried at his Back, in a Wolf's Skin for his Quiver, with his Bow in one Hand, and his Club in the other.

THE Manner of the *English* was daily to have Prayers with a Psalm; at which Solemnity those poor Barbarians wondered greatly. Prayers being done, the *Susquesahanocks* held a Consultation; and then began in a very passionate Manner to hold up their Hands to the Sun, with a most frightful Song. Then embracing Captain *Smith*, they began to adore him in like Manner. He rebuked them for it; but they persisted, till their Song was finished. After which, with a strange furious Action, and a dismal Voice, they began an Oration of their Love; which ended, they covered him with a large painted Bear's Skin. One stood ready with a great Chain of white Beads, weighing six or seven Pounds, which he hung about his Neck. The others had eighteen Mantles, made of divers Sorts of Skins sewed together; all which, with many other Baubles, they laid at his Feet, stroaking their Hands about his Neck, for his Creation to be their Governor and Protector. They promised him Aids of Men and Victuals, and even offered all, that

they had, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them on the *Massawomecks*. But he was obliged to leave them at *Tockwogh*, very sorrowful for his Departure; yet promised to visit them again the next Year. They knew nothing of *Powhatan* and his Territories, but the Name; and they informed the *English*, that their Hatchets and other Commodities came originally from the *French* of *Canada*.

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HAVING searched all the Rivers and Inlets, worth Note, they passed down the Bay, naming all the remarkable Head-lands and Places after some of the Company or their Friends. On the River *Patuxen* they found the People tractable and civil above all others. They, as well as the *Patowmacks*, were very urgent with *Smith* to revenge them on the *Massawomecks*, which he promised to do, but was afterwards crossed in his Purpose. For depending upon the Assistance and Provisions of those two Nations, and of the *Susquesahanocks*, he was very willing to hazard his Person in the Expedition; and therefore, after his Return, he petitioned the Council for forty Men, to effect such a Conquest and Discovery. But the Council, envying his Industry and Success, and deterred perhaps also by the Difficulty of the Undertaking, refused to risque the Lives of so many Men, in so long and so dangerous an Enterprize.

IN the Discovery of *Rappahanock* River, they were kindly received and entertained by the People of *Moraughtacund*. Here they met with an old Friend and Acquaintance, one *Mosco*, a lusty Indian of *Wighcocomoco* on the River *Patowmack*. They supposed him some Frenchman's Son, because, he had a thick, black, bushy Beard, and the Indians seldom have any at all. And he was not a little proud of this, and to see so many of his Countrymen. He was very officious and useful to the *English*; and advised them, by all Means not to pass over to the *Rappahanocks*, who would certainly kill them for being Friends with the *Moraughtacunds*, who had lately stolen three of their King's Women. But thinking, he only said this to secure their Trade to his Friends, they crossed the River to the *Rappahanocks*. There, under pretence of Trade, they were invited up *Rappahanock* Creek, where they had laid an Ambush; and after a smart Skirmish, in which many Indians were slain and wounded, the *English* came off Victors without the least Hurt. Having driven them up into the Woods, they seized three or four Canoes, full of Commodities, which, with some Arrows, they had gathered up, they presented to *Mosco* for his Kindness. And he, on his Part, received them in the most triumphant Manner, and in the

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THEY spent the rest of the Day in fitting up their Boat with a Breast-work of *Massawomeck* Targets, which they had received from them, as Presents, at the Head of the Bay, and which had been of singular Use in the Battle with the *Rappahanocks*. They were made of small Twigs, woven together so firmly with strings of wild Hemp and Silk-grass, that no Arrow could possibly pierce them. The next Morning, they set Sail up the River; and *Mosco* followed along the Shore, and at last desired to go with them in the Boat. As they passed by *Pisacack*, *Matchopeake*, and *Mecuppom*, three Towns, situate on the North Side of the River, on high, white, clay Cliffs, with a low Marsh over against them, and the River but narrow (the Place, where the *Bristol* Works now are) thirty or forty *Rappahanocks* had so disguised themselves with Branches, that they took them for little Bushes, growing in the Sedge. They saw their Arrows often strike against the Targets, and drop into the River; and at last *Mosco*, falling flat on his Face in the Boat, cried out; *The Rappahanocks*. They soon perceived them to be the Bushes in the Sedge, which at the first Volley fell down. And when they had passed about half a Mile further, they again shewed themselves, singing and dancing very merrily. But they were kindly treated by the rest of the Nations to the Falls, and they even used their utmost Interest with *Mosco*, to bring the *English* to them. Between *Secobeck*, on the South, and *Massawteck*, on the North Side of the River, there was a small Island or two, which made the River broader, than ordinary. Here Mr. *Richard Fetherstone*, one of their Company died; who, from his first coming to the Country, had behaved himself honestly, valiantly, and industriously. They buried him in a little Bay, which they then called *Fetherstone's Bay*, with a Volley of their Arms. But the rest of the last Supply, who had, on the Expedition, been miserably sick and harrassed with their Seasoning, had by this time perfectly recovered their Health.

THE next Day, they sailed up as high, as their Boat could go, setting up Crosses, and carving their Names on the Trees; which they constantly did at all the highest Places, they went to. As they ranged about at the Falls, the Sentinel saw an Arrow fall by him; and giving the Alarm, they perceived about an hundred nimble *Indians*, skipping from Tree to Tree, and letting fly their Arrows as fast, as they could. But after half an Hour's Skirmish, they all vanished as suddenly, as they came. As the *English* returned from the Pursuit, they found an *Indian*, lying as dead,

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dead, shot in the Knee. *Mosco*, who had been of great Service in the Battle, was as furious to beat out his Brains, as ever Dog was against a Bear. But protecting him from his Rage, and carrying him to the Surgeon, who attended to cure the Captain's Hurt of the Stingray, he was within an Hour so far recovered, that he both eat and spoke. He was Brother to the King of *Hassininga*, one of the four Nations of the *Mannabocks*. These were a People, dwelling above the Falls of *Rappahanock*, Neighbours to, and in strict Friendship and Alliance with the *Manakins* against *Powhatan* and his Territories. For the *Manakins* were not confined to one Place or Town, as is vulgarly thought, but spread all that Country, from a small Distance above the Falls of *James* River up to the Mountains, in several Towns; and they were the Heads or Chiefs of the League and Confederacy of the upland and mountain *Indians* against the Power and Tyranny of *Powhatan*. These *Mannabocks*, their Neighbours and Allies, lived on small Streams, in a hilly Country, chiefly by hunting; and were then come down to fish at *Mohaskahod*, a small hunting Town, on the North Side of the Falls of *Rappahanock*, and the Boundary between them and the *Nantaughtacunds*, a large Nation on the navigable River, below the Falls. The *English* asked their Prisoner; Why they had endeavoured to destroy them, who came to them in Peace, to seek their Friendship. He answered, that they heard, the *English* were a People, come from under the World, to take their World from them. Being asked; how many Worlds, he knew, he said, he knew none but that, which was under the Sky, that covered him, and which consisted of the *Powhatans*, the *Manakins*, and the *Massawomecks*. And he told them, that the last dwelt on a great Water, had many Boats, and so many Men, that they warred on all the World besides. After many other Questions concerning the Country, especially beyond the great Mountains, to which he could give no satisfactory Answers, they presented him with some Toys, and persuaded him to go along with them. But he pressed them much to stay the coming of the *Mannabock* Kings, who, for their good Usage to him, should be their Friends. And notwithstanding *Mosco's* eager Representations to be gone, they resolved to stay till Night, preparing themselves to entertain, whatever should come.

ALL this while the King of *Hassininga* was seeking the rest, and held a long Consultation, what to do. When the *English* had weighed, and were gone, they followed them all Night, yelling, and hollowing, and shooting their Arrows, and would come to no Terms or Discourse. But in the

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Morning, being brought to a Parley, *Amoroleck*, the Prisoner, held a long Discourse with them. He told them, how good the *English* were, and how kindly they had used him; that they had a *Patowmack* with them, that loved them as his Life, and would have slain him, had they not prevented it; and that he might have his Liberty, if they would be Friends; to which he advised them by all means, since to do them any Hurt was impossible. Upon this they all hung their Bows and Quivers upon the Trees; and one came swimming aboard with a Bow tied on his Head, and another with a Quiver of Arrows. Having presented them to the Captain, he used them very kindly, and told them, that the other three Kings should do the same, and then the great King of his World should be their Friend. This was no sooner demanded, than performed; and so going ashore on a low morass Point of Land, those four Kings came, and received *Amoroleck*. And after many mutual Civilities and Presents, the *English* departed, leaving four or five hundred *Mannahocks*, singing, and dancing, and making loud and barbarous Rejoicings.

IN their Return down the River they visited all their Friends, who rejoiced much at their Victory over the *Mannahocks*. By their Intreaty, Captain *Smith* was induced to make Peace with the *Rappahanocks*; upon Condition, that they should present him the King's Bow and Arrows, and not offer to come armed, where he was; and that they should be Friends with the *Moraughtacunds*, his Friends, and give their King's Son a Hostage for the Performance. Accordingly, the King's of *Nantaughtacund* and *Pisafack* met the *English* at the Place, where they first fought. There the King of *Rappahanock* presented his Bow and Arrows, and performed all, they demanded, except the delivering his Son. For having no other, he said, he could not live without him; and he offered in his Stead, to give up the three Women, which the *Moraughtacunds* had stolen from him. This was accepted; and the Women being brought, Captain *Smith* presented each of them with a Chain of Beads. Then causing the King of *Rappahanock*, of *Moraughtacund*, and *Mosco* to stand before him, he bid the King of *Rappahanock* take her, he loved best, *Moraughtacund* to chuse next, and to *Mosco* he gave the third. And thus was the Peace concluded and celebrated with feasting, singing, and dancing. And *Mosco*, to express his Love to the *English*, changed his Name to *Uttasantasough*, which signified in their Language, *Stranger*, and was the Name, by which they called the *English*. And then all the *Indians*, promising to be always their Friends, and to plant

plant Corn purposely for them; and the *English*, on their Side, to provide Hatchets, Beads, and Copper for them; they departed, giving them a Volley of their Fire-Arms, which they returned with as loud Shouts and Cries, as their Strengths could utter.

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THAT Night they anchored in the River *Piankatank*, and discovered it, as high as it was navigable. But the People were gone out to hunting, except a few old Men, Women, and Children, that were tending their Corn. Of these they obtained a Promise of Part, when they should fetch it; as they had likewise done of all the Nations, where-ever they had been. Going from thence to *Point Comfort*, they where in a Bay on the South of the Mouth of *York River*, then called *Gosnold's Bay*, surpris'd, in the Night, with such a sudden Gust of Thunder and Rain, that they never expected more to see *James-Town*. But discerning the Land by the Flashes of Lightening, they avoided splitting on the Shore; till, by the Help of the same Light, they found *Point Comfort*, where they landed, and refresh'd themselves the rest of the Night.

HAVING discovered so many Nations at a Distance, they thought it highly proper and necessary to know their near Neighbours, the *Chesapeakes* and *Nandsamonds*, of whom they had, as yet, only heard. Therefore setting Sail for the Southern Shore, they entered a narrow River, then called *Chesapeake*, but now *Elisabeth*, on which the Town of *Norfolk* stands. It had a good Channel, but some Shoals about the Entrance. They sail'd up six or seven Miles, and saw two or three little Garden-plots with Houses, and the Shores overgrown with the largest Pines, they had ever seen in the Country. But neither seeing, nor hearing any People, and the River being very narrow, they returned back, and coasted the Shore towards *Nandsamond*, which they found to be chiefly Oyster-Banks. At the Mouth of *Nandsamond*, they spied six or seven *Indians*, making their Weirs, who presently fled. But the *English* went ashore, and threw divers Toys, where they were working, and so departed. They were not gone far, before the *Indians* returned, and began to sing, and dance, and call them back. One of them came voluntarily into their Boat, and invited them up the River to his House, which was in a little Island, where (as well as on the main Land against it) they saw many and large Corn-fields. He treated them with great Civility, and they in return, presented him, his Wife, and Children, with such Toys, as highly pleas'd them. By that time the others being come, invited them higher up the River, under Pretence of going to their Houses

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Houses likewise. But they soon found, that they only intended to decoy them up into the Narrows of the River, where the whole Nations of the *Nansamonds* and *Chesapeake* were in Ambush to receive them. Having discovered the Treachery, they made the best of their Way down into the Open, amidst the Shot of three or four Hundred *Indians*, which they returned from their Muskets with such Effect, that they soon made them glad to take Shelter behind the Trees. Above an hundred Arrows stuck in their Breast-work of *Massawomeck* Targets, and about the Boat, yet none was hurt. Only *Anthony Bagnall*, the Surgeon, was shot in his Hat, and another in the Sleeve. Having gained the Open against the Island, they seized on all their Canoes, and resolved, upon Consultation, to burn every thing on the Island at Night. In the mean while, they began to cut to Pieces their Canoes; at the Sight of which the *Indians* threw down their Arms, and sued for Peace; which the *English* granted, on Condition, they would bring their King's Bow and Arrows, with a Chain of Pearl; and should, when they came back again, give them four hundred Baskets of Corn. Otherwise they threatened, to break all their Canoes, to burn their Houses and Corn, and to destroy all, that they had. To these Conditions the *Indians* most joyfully agreed; and flocking down in great Numbers with their Baskets, they soon loaded the Boat with Corn, and so parted good Friends.

AND thus having viewed and reconnoitred all the Places on the Bay, one of the finest perhaps and most commodious Countries in the World, which Nature seems to have formed for one noble and complete Dominion, but which is since unhappily divided by the large Grant to the Lord *Baltimore*, and having passed about three thousand Miles, according to their own Computation, in that small and open Boat, and in the Midst of many barbarous and savage Nations, they returned with Joy and Triumph to *James-Town*, where they arrived safe the 7th of *September*, 1608. There they found Mr. *Scrivener*, and several others, well recovered; some sick; many dead; the late President a Prisoner for Mutiny; and the Corn, by Mr. *Scrivener's* honest Diligence, gathered; but the Provisions in the Store much injured by the Rain.

BUT whilst Captain *Smith* and others were thus industriously engaged in making good this Settlement, the Second or *Northern* Colony, granted by the Letters patent to the Town of *Plimouth* and others, was embraced and undertaken by several Persons of Fortune and Distinction, and particularly by Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief-Justice of *England*.

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gland. He was a Gentleman of one of the greatest Families in the *West of England*, but is memorable to all Posterity for his infamous Partiality and Injustice in the Trial of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. However, he was a Person, at that Time, of great Power and Interest, and in high Esteem with many for Wisdom and Virtue; and having procured Men and Money, he sent Captain *George Popham*, as President, Captain *Raleigh Gilbert*, as Admiral, and many other Gentlemen in several Posts and Offices, with an hundred Men, to possess and settle the Country. They set Sail from *Plymouth*, the last of *May*, 1607, and fell in with some Islands, then called *Monahigan*. From thence they proceeded to the Continent, and settled upon a very barren and rocky Coast, at the Mouth of *Sagadahock*, a large navigable River, which must be either the River *Saco* in *New-England*, or else *St. Juan* in *Acadia*. But that Winter was so extremely cold and frozen, that they could not range much about, nor search the Country; and their Provision was so scanty, that they were obliged to send all, except forty five of their Company back. Captain *Popham*, their President, died soon; and not long after, they were informed by the Ships that brought them Supplies, of the Death of the two principal Promoters and Supporters of the Undertaking, the Lord Chief-Justice *Popham*, and Sir *John Gilbert*. This last Gentleman, who was Brother, or perhaps rather Nephew, to the famous Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, before-mentioned, was chosen President of the Council for the *Northern Colony*. His Brother, Captain *Raleigh Gilbert*, Admiral of this Colony, succeeding to his Estate, was obliged to return to *England*, to enter upon his Inheritance, and take Care of his Affairs. And the rest also, being doubtful of proper Assistance and Encouragement, and having no Prospect in the Country, but of the most extreme Misery and Famine, all returned to *England* this Year 1608. And thus was this Plantation begun and ended in one Year; and that vast Grant, in which lay large Tracts of fine and noble Country, was stigmatized in the Gross, and despised, as a cold, barren, mountainous, and rocky Desert.

ABOUT this Time also, Captain *Henry Hudson* discovered *Long-Island*, *New-York*, *Hudson's River*, and the Parts adjacent. As the *English* were busily employed in their own Discoveries and Settlements, he could hope for but little Advantage from his own Country; and therefore he applied himself to the States-General of the United Provinces, and sold this important Discovery to them. But this Sale was always excepted against by the *English*, as the Discovery was made by his Majesty's Commission, and the Sale

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Sale passed without the King's Consent, to whom, of Right, all new Lands and Discoveries belong. However, the *Dutch* crept in by Degrees, built new *Amsterdam*, and other Towns, strongly fortified themselves, planted, and became a flourishing Colony.

DOCTOR *Whitgift*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Man of a mild and gentle Disposition, having died four Years before this, was succeeded in that high Preferment by Dr. *Richard Bancroft*, a Person of a quite different Temper. He had very high Notions with Relation to the Government of both Church and State; and was accordingly a great Stickler for, and Promoter of, the King's absolute Power, and failed not to take all Occasions, to oblige the Puritans to conform to the Church of *England*. This Prelate's Harshness and Warmth caused many of that People to take the Resolution this Year of settling themselves in *Virginia*, and some were actually come off for that Purpose. But the Arch-bishop finding, that they were preparing in great Numbers to depart, obtained a Proclamation from the King, forbidding any to go, without his Majesty's express Leave. And this was the more readily granted, as the Court mortally hated that Sect, and were now afraid, that they would become too numerous and too powerful in *Virginia*.

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IN *Virginia*, on the 10th of *September*, by the Election of the Council, and the Request of the Colony, Captain *Smith* was invested with the Government; which, till then, he would by no Means accept, tho' often importuned to it. And now the building of *Ratcliffe's* Palace was stopped, and Works of more immediate Use and Necessity undertaken. The Church was repaired; the Store-house new covered; and a Place made ready for the Reception of the Supplies, they daily expected from *England*. The Fort was reduced into Form; the Order of the Watch was renewed; the Troops trained at each Setting of the Watch; and the whole Company every *Saturday* exercised, in the Plain towards the *West*, which was prepared for that Purpose, and called *Smithfield*; where sometimes above an hundred *Indians* would stand in Amazement, to behold how a File would batter a Tree, where the President had made them a Mark to shoot at. And now being the Time of gathering Corn, and of Plenty among the *Indians*, the Boats were trimmed for Trade, and sent out under the Command of Lieutenant *Percy*. But in their Way, meeting Captain *Newport* with the second Supply, he brought them back to *James-Town*.

CAPTAIN *Newport* was in reality an empty, idle, interested Man; very fearful and suspicious in Times of Danger and Difficulty; but a very great and important Person in

in his own Talk and Conceit. He had, by the Advantage of going to and fro, gained so much upon the Ear and Confidence of the Council and Company in *England*, that whatever he proposed, was, for the most part, concluded and resolved on. And upon this Voyage, he obtained a private Commission, not to return without a Lump of Gold, a Certainty of the *South-Sea*, or one of the lost Company, sent out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Besides, he brought an express Command, to discover the Country of the *Manakins*, with a Barge, for Conveniency of Carriage, to be taken into five Pieces, which they were to carry beyond the Falls, to convey them to the *South-Sea*. He likewise brought over a Crown for *Powhatan*, with Orders for his Coronation, and Presents of a Bason and Ewer, Bed, Bedstead; Cloaths, and other costly Novelties; which stately Kind of Court had this bad Effect, that it made him value himself too much, and overrate his Favour, which they had before much better for a plain Piece of Copper. In this Voyage came over many Persons of Distinction; Captain *Peter Wynne*, and Captain *Richard Waldo*, two old Soldiers and valiant Gentlemen, both appointed of the Council; Mr. *Francis West*, Brother to the Lord Delawarr; *Raleigh Croshaw*, *John Russel*, *John Codrington*, *Daniel Tucker*, Mr. *Hunt*, *Thomas Forrest*, and others, to the Number of seventy Persons. In this Ship likewise arrived Mrs. *Forrest*, and *Anne Burras*, her Maid, the first *Englishwomen* ever in this Country. And eight *Poles* and *Germans* were sent, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Mills, and Soap-Ashes; which, when the Country was replenished with People and Necessaries, would have done exceedingly well, but in that their infant State, they were only a Burthen and Hindrance to the rest, who were sufficiently puzzled and employed to find Subsistence for themselves.

CAPTAIN *Smith*, whose Mind was solid and provident, and plainly foresaw the ill Consequence of spending that Time in these Projects, which ought to be employed in the speedy Dispatch of the Ship, and in trading and laying in a Store of Provisions for the Year, was much mortified and perplexed with these Orders, and strenuously opposed their Execution in Council. But *Newport* undertook to freight the Bark of twenty Tons with Corn, in going and returning from the *Manakins*; and to obtain another Load for her of *Powhatan*, from *Werowocomoco*. He also promised a large Proportion of Victuals from the Ship; which he was so far from performing, that the Colony was obliged to spare him three Hogheads of Corn to victual him homeward. In short, he represented *Smith's* Opposition, as a mere Device,

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to hinder his Journey, that he might himself effect the Discovery ; and he said, that his Cruelty to the *Indians* might well be a Means to hinder these Designs, and to make them seek Revenge. *Smith's* Opinion being therefore over-ruled by the unanimous Voice of the Council, all other Works and Designs were laid aside, and an hundred and twenty chosen Men appointed for *Newport's* Guard on the Expedition.

BUT *Smith*, to clear himself of these Suspicions, and to shew, that the *Indians* were not so desperate, as was pretended by *Newport*, and how willing he was to assist, as far as he could, undertook himself to carry their Message to *Powhatan*, and to invite him to *James-Town* to receive his Presents. And taking with him only Captain *Waldo*, and three more, he went across by Land, about twelve Miles, to *Werowocomoco*, where he passed the River in an *Indian* Canoe. *Powhatan*, being thirty Miles off, was immediately sent for ; and in the mean time, *Pocahontas* and her Women entertained him with a strange Mask and barbarian Piece of Revelry, and feasted them with all the savage Dainties, they could devise. The next Day, *Powhatan* came, and *Smith* delivered his Message, together with *Namontack*, his Servant, whom he had sent to *England*. And he desired him to come to his Father *Newport*, to receive his Presents, and to enter upon Measures for their effectual Revenge against the *Manakins*. To this that subtle Barbarian answered : *That if their King had sent him any Presents, he also was a King, and that was his Land: That he would stay eight Days, to receive them: That Newport ought to come to him, and not He to go to their Fort, which was too foolish a Bait to be taken: That as to the Manakins, he could revenge his own Wrongs; and for any salt Water beyond the Mountains, he told him, that all the Relations, they had received from his People, were false.* Whereupon he began to draw Plots upon the Ground, according to his Discourse, of all those Regions. Many other complimentary Discourses passed between them ; and so *Smith* returned with this Answer to *James-Town*.

HEREUPON the Presents were sent round by Water, and the Captains went across by Land, with a Guard of fifty Men. All being met at *Werowocomoco*, the next Day was appointed for his Coronation. Then the Presents were brought ; his Bason and Ewer, Bed and Furniture, were set up ; and his Scarlet Cloak and Apparel, with much ado, put on him, being persuaded by *Namontack*, that they would not hurt him. But a great Coil and Trouble there was to make him kneel, to receive his Crown. He neither knew the Majesty of a Crown, nor the Meaning of bending the
Knee,

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Knee, which obliged them to use so many Persuasions, Examples, and Instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his Shoulders, he stooped a little, and three, being ready with the Crown, put it on his Head; when, by the Warning of a Pistol, the Boats were prepared with such a Volley of Shot, that the King started up in a horrible Fright, till he saw, all was well. Then recollecting himself, to return their Kindness, he gave his old Shoes and Mantle to Captain *Newport*; and finding him determined to discover the *Manakins*, he did his utmost to divert him from his Purpose, and refused to lend him either Men or Guides, except *Namontack*. And so after some slight Compliments on both Sides, in Requital for his Presents, he gave *Newport* a Heap of Ears of Corn, which might contain seven or eight Bushels, and as much more was purchased in the Town, with which they returned to the Fort at *James-Town*.

IMMEDIATELY upon their Return, Captain *Newport*, with an hundred and twenty chosen Men, led by Captain *Waldo*, Lieutenant *Percy*, Captain *Wynne*, Mr. *West*, and Mr. *Scrivener*, set forward for the Discovery of the *Manakins*; leaving the President at the Fort, with eighty or ninety weak and sickly Men, to load the Ship. Arriving at the Falls, they marched by Land about forty Miles, and found a very fair, fertile, well-watered Country. Two Towns of the *Manakins* they discovered, situate on the South Side of the River. The People used them neither well nor ill; yet for their Security, they took one of their petty Kings, and led him bound, to conduct them the Way. In their Return, they spent some Time in searching for Mines, having with them one *William Callicut*, a Refiner, for that Purpose. From the Crust of Earth, which they dug, he persuaded them, that he extracted some small Quantity of Silver. With this poor Trial, they returned down the same Path, they went, to the Falls; where the *Indians* feigned, that many Ships were come into the Bay, to kill the *English* at *James-Town*. But as for their Corn, they had hid it in the Woods, and could by no Means be induced to trade. And being thus deluded and disappointed, they returned to *James-Town*, half sick, and all complaining, being sadly harrassed with Toil, Famine, and Discontent.

No sooner were they landed, but the President dispersed as many, as were able, some to make Glass, and others for Pitch, Tar, and Soap-Ashes. Leaving them at the Fort under the Councils Care and Oversight, he himself carried thirty about five Miles down the River, to learn to cut down Trees, make Clapboard, and lie in the Woods. Among these he chose *Gabriel Beadle* and *John Russel*, two fine

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fine and proper Gentlemen of the last Supply. These were, at first, strange Diversions for Men of Pleasure. Yet they lodged, eat, and drank, worked or played, only as the President himself did; and all things were carried so pleasantly, that within a Week they became Masters, and thirty or forty of such voluntary Gentlemen, would have done more in a Day than an hundred of the rest, who must be driven to it by Compulsion. Being inured to Labour by these means, they soon made it their Delight, to hear the Trees thunder, as they fell; and afterwards became very hardy, useful, and resolute Men, especially Mr. *Russel*. But the Axes often blistering their tender Fingers, they would, at every third Stroke, drown the Eccho, with a loud Volley of Oaths. To remedy which Sin, the President ordered every Man's Oaths to be numbered, and at Night, for every Oath, to have a Can of Water poured down his Sleeve; which so washed and drenched the Offender, that in a short time, an Oath was not heard in a Week.

In the mean while, Mr. *Scrivener*, Captain *Waldo*, and Captain *Wynne*, at the Fort, each, in their several Way, carefully regarded their Charge. But when the President returned, seeing the Time consumed, and no Provisions got, and that the Ship lay idle at a great Charge, and did nothing, he immediately embarked in the Discovery Barge, taking with him eighteen Men and another Boat, and leaving Orders with the Council, to send Lieutenant *Percy* after him, with the next Barge, that arrived at the Fort. Going into *Chickahominy*, the *Indians* were surly, and knowing his Wants, with much Scorn and Insolence refused to trade. But the President, perceiving, it was *Powhatan's* Policy to starve the *English*, told them, that he came not so much for Corn, as to revenge his own Captivity and the Death of his two Men; which he pretended to attribute to them. And so, landing his Men, and making ready to charge them, they immediately fled. Soon after they sent Ambassadors, with Corn, Fish, Fowl, and whatever else they had, to make their Peace. Their Corn being that Year but bad, they complained extremely of their own Wants, yet freighted their Boats with an hundred Bushels, and in like manner Lieutenant *Percy's*, that not long after arrived. Returning to *James-Town*, the Colony was much pleased and revived by this seasonable Supply. Yet such was the Malice and Envy of some, that they had rather hazard a Starving, than that *Smith's* Endeavours should prove so much more effectual, than theirs. And *Newport* and *Ratcliffe* had projected, not only to de-

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pose him, but to keep him out of the Fort; under Pretence, that, being President, he had left his Place and the Fort, without their Consent. But their Horns were too short, and they themselves narrowly escaped a greater Mischief.

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ALL this while, their old Tavern, the Ship, made as much of all them, that had either Money or Ware, as could be desired. By this time, they were become perfect on all Sides, the Sailers, the Soldiers, and the *Indians*; and much more Care was taken, to maintain their private and pernicious Trade, than to provide things necessary for the Colony. *Newport* and his Mariners had so many private Factors at the Fort, that in six or seven Weeks, of two or three hundred Axes, Hoes, Pick-axes, and other Instruments for the Use of the Colony, scarce twenty could be found; and for Pike-heads, Powder, Shot, or any thing else they could steal, they knew well, how to convey them secretly, to trade with the *Indians* for Furs, Baskets, young Beasts, and other such-like Commodities. So that, altho' *Virginia* afforded no Commodities for those, who were at the Expence of the Settlement, yet these Men found Means, by these indirect Methods, of driving on a very profitable Trade. And thus, by their false Excuses, Informations, and Advices in *England*, and by their unlawful Trade here, the Adventurers were couzened, and the Action almost overthrown. Upon this Account therefore, as well as under Pretence, that his Orders were, not to return, without a Lump of Gold, a Certainty of the *South-Sea*, or one of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* lost Company, the President had once determined to send away the Ship, and to oblige *Newport* to stay one Year in the Country, to learn to speak of his own Experience. But upon his Submission and Acknowledgment, this Punishment was remitted, and he was suffered to return to *England* in the Ship; where, it is not to be doubted, but that he represented Matters in the worst Light.

IT is certain, that the Treasurer and Council in *England* were greatly disappointed in their Hopes. For they expected, upon their Discoveries in *America*, to have speedy Returns, in Gold and Silver, and such other rich Commodities, as the *Spaniards* found at their first Arrival. But *Virginia* is not a Country of Mines. It is formed by Nature for producing all the Necessaries, or even Elegancies of Life, to as high a Degree, as perhaps any other Country whatsoever. It lies under the same Clime, as some Parts of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and is a Country of Plenty and Abundance; and therefore, in the End, is more valuable,

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and even richer, than those Regions, which abound in Gold and Silver. The Truth of this is confirmed by Experience; and it is an undeniable Maxim in Politicks, that Commodities of the first Necessity, or such as are of absolute Use for our Subsistence and the Support of Life, have a much greater real and intrinsic Value, than those, which only receive an imaginary Worth, by Compact or Agreement, and are wholly designed, as a Gage, or Measure, of the real and intrinsic Value of other Commodities. The true Riches therefore, and Power of every Country, depend upon the plentiful Production of Corn, Stocks, Cloathing, and other such Commodities of the first Necessity; the Want of which can, by no means, be supplied by ever so great an Abundance of Gold and Silver. But the Want of them, on the contrary, may be, and often have been, supplied, by stamped Leather, Tallies, Shells, Paper, or other such arbitrary Representations. But altho' these Necessaries of Life are of this greater real Value, yet they are not to be had at once. Previous Preparations by Culture, Manufacturing, Stocks, and other Improvements, are necessary; which often require a long Time, to bring them to any tolerable Degree of Perfection. And the *English*, when they first came to *Virginia*, happened upon a Land, just as God had made it, little planted, manured or improved. The Inhabitants were an idle, improvident, vagabond People; knowing nothing of Gold and Silver, and other valuable Commodities; and careless of every thing, but just from Hand to Mouth.

BUT however free they might be from Blame, the Council in *England* were certainly very much fretted with the Disappointment, and by this Ship, wrote the President a very angry Letter. They complained of the vain Hopes, they had been fed with, and very small Proofs; and of their Factions and silly Projects about dividing the Country, concerning which the late President and his Faction had written some idle Story to the Earl of *Salisbury*, at that time chief Minister of State. And they threatened, unless the Charge of this Voyage, amounting to about two thousand Pounds; was defrayed by the Ship's Return, they should be deserted, and left to remain here, as banished Men. To this Letter Captain *Smith* gave a very plain and soldierly Answer by the Ship, which was at length dispatched, with the Trials of Pitch, Tar, Glass, Frankincense, and Soap-Ashes, and with what Wainscot and Clapboard could be provided. In it he endeavoured to lay open to them the Causes, that kept them from laying such a Foundation, as might have given better Satisfaction; and
advise

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advises them against expecting any profitable Returns at present. He declares his own Integrity and Sincerity towards them, and warns them against some Persons, who caused them to believe much more, than was true. He tells them, that their Directions by *Newport* had been followed, altho' he himself was directly against them, as they were very prejudicial and to the imminent Hazard of the whole Colony, which was then, when it was too late, generally confessed. He complains of *Newport*, exposes the Vanity and ill Consequences of his Projects, his Lingerings in the Country, the good Cheer and Luxury of him and the Sailers, and their Embezzlement of the publick Stores. For of the two thousand Pounds, which this Ship cost them, he assures them, that the Colony had not Received the Value of an hundred Pounds. He blames *Ratcliffe*, *Archer*, and others, as the Authors of their Factions and Disturbances; and tells them, that he had sent *Ratcliffe*, a counterfeit Impostor, whose right Name was *Sicklemore*, home, lest the Company should cut his Throat. And he judiciously insists upon their sending useful Labourers and proper Tradesmen for their present Condition; and upon providing, first of all, Food, Lodging, and such other Necessaries, as were absolutely requisite for their Being and Subsistence, before they went on any other Projects of Gain or Curiosity, for which they were no ways fitted, in their present weak and infant Condition. At the same time, he sent them two Barrels of such Stones, as he thought contained some Kind of Ore, with Notes, signifying in what Places he found them. And to shew, he could make as large a Discovery, as *Newport's* of the *Manakins*, for less Charge, than he spent them at every Meal, he sent them a Map of the Bay and Rivers, with a Relation annexed, of the Countries, and of the Nations, that dwelt upon them. And this indeed was done with such wonderful exactness, as shewed him to have travelled far, and seen much; and it has ever since been the Original, from which all later Maps and Descriptions of *Virginia* have been mostly copied.

AND now the Ship being gone, the grand Remora and Obstacle to all necessary Business, the Colony began to look about them. The Prospect was dismal, and they were all in the utmost Consternation, expecting nothing else but the most extreme Famine. However to make up, in some measure, their lost Time, Mr. *Scrivener* had been sent, before *Newport's* Departure, with the Bark and Barges to *Werowocomoco*. There he found the *Indians* more ready to fight, than to trade. But his Vigilancy prevented their Plots; and by the Means of *Namontack*, he got three or

1608. four Hogheads of Corn, and as much Pocones, a red Root, at that time esteemed an excellent Dye. Meeting *Newport* at *Point Comfort*, he returned to the Fort; and the President, taking him and Captain *Wynne*, set off immediately for *Nandsamond*. That Nation at first denied him, not only the four hundred Baskets of Corn, they had promised, but any Trade at all. They excused themselves on Account of their Corn's being almost spent, and because they were commanded by *Powhatan*, to keep what was left, and not to let the *English* even enter their River. The President finding, nothing was to be done in the Way of Peace, resolved to use Force. At the first Onset, the *Indians* all fled, without shooting an Arrow. Then marching up to their Houses, they set Fire to the first, they came to. When the *Indians* perceived that, they offered, if they would make no more Spoil, to give them half the Corn, they had. Accordingly, before Night, they loaded their three Boats; and for sparing them this Year, they promised to plant Corn purposely for them the next. With this they returned to *James-Town*, about the Time, that *John Laydon* was married to *Anne Burras*; which was the first Christian Marriage, that ever was in *Virginia*. But the President staid not long at the Fort. For he fitted himself and Captain *Waldo* out immediately with two Barges, and made a Voyage up the River. From *Wyanoake*, and all Parts thereabouts, he found the *Indians* fled; and therefore hastening up higher, he then first discovered the River and People of *Appamatox*. The little Corn, they had, was equally divided; and the President gave them Copper for it, and such other Toys, as fully satisfied them. At the same time, Mr. *Scrivener* and Lieutenant *Percy* went abroad in Quest of Provisions, but could find nothing.

ABOUT this time, the President was invited by *Powhatan* to come to him; and he promised to load his Ship with Corn, provided he would send some Workmen to build him a House, and would give him a Grind-stone, fifty Swords, some Muskets, a Cock and a Hen, with much Copper and Beads. The President was not ignorant of his Devices and Subtlety; yet was unwilling to neglect any Opportunity of getting Provisions, and resolved, sooner than fail, to take him and all his Store by Surprise. To this End, he took Order with Captain *Waldo*, whom he knew to be sure in Time of Danger, to second him, if Need required. But Captain *Wynne* and Mr. *Scrivener* did their utmost to hinder their Project. For *Scrivener's* strict Friendship with Captain *Smith* was now much cooled; and he was thought to join with some others, in a Plot to ruin him in *England*. But

But the President, whom no Eloquence could persuade to starve, sent off two *Englishmen* before by Land, and four *Germans*, to build the House for *Powhatan* against his Ar-
rival. And then, having left Mr. *Scrivener* his Substitute;
he set forward with the Bark and two Barges, manned only
with such, as offered themselves voluntarily to go upon the
Service. In the Discovery-Barge went himself, Mr. *Raleigh*
Chreshaw, *John Russel*, and several other Gentlemen and
Soldiers; and Mr. *William Phittiplace*, as Captain, Lieute-
nant *Percy*, Mr. *Francis West*, Mr. *Robert Ford*, Clerk of
the Council, with many others, went on board the Bark.

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President.

THE 29th of *December* they left *James-Town*, being
victualled only for three or four Days. That Night they
lodged at *Warrasqueake*, where the President got sufficient
Provision. The King of that Town did his utmost to
divert him from seeing *Powhatan*; but finding, he could
not prevail, he told him, that *Powhatan* would use them
kindly, although he had sent for them only to cut their
Throats. He therefore advised him, not to trust him,
and to be sure to give him no Opportunity of seizing his
Arms. The President thanked him for his good Counsel;
and having obtained Guides from him to the *Chowanocks*, a
Nation dwelling in the Fork of *Chowan*, between *Notta-*
way and *Meherrin* Rivers, he sent *Michael Sicklemore*, a
very valiant, honest, and painful Soldier, with Presents to
that King; but chiefly to look for Silkgrasses, and to en-
quire after Sir *Walter Raleigh's* lost Colony. The next
Night they lodged at *Kicquotan*, and were detained there
six or seven Days by the extreme Wind, Rain, Frost, and
Snow. This obliged them to keep their *Christmas* among
the Savages; and they were never more merry in their
Lives, lodged by better Fires, or fed with greater Plenty of
good Bread, Oysters, Fish, Flesh, and Wildfowl. De-
parting thence, they arrived on the 12th of *January*, thro'
various Accidents, at *Werowocomoco*; where they found the
River frozen near half a Mile from the Shore. But the
President, running his Barge up, as far as he could by
breaking the Ice, was left by the Ebb upon the oozy Shoals.
In this dangerous Situation, he plunged first into the River
himself; and by his Example, taught them to march, near
Middle deep, a Flight-shot, through the frozen Ooze.
When the Barge should float, he appointed two or three to re-
turn her aboard the Bark; where they, soon after, came into
such Distress for Want of Water, that the River being salt,
they were obliged to make fresh Water, by melting the Ice.

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THE President and his Company quartered in the next
Cabbins, they found, and sent to *Powhatan* for Provisions.

1609. He sent them Plenty of Bread, Turkey, and Venifon ; and the next Day, feasted them after his usual Manner. But he pretended, he had not sent for them ; neither had he any Corn, and his People much less ; and soon began to be importunate with them to be gone. But the President confronting him with the Persons, who brought the Message, he endeavoured to put the Matter off with a Laugh, and asked for his Commodities. But he liked nothing, except Guns and Swords, and valued a Basket of Corn higher than a Basket of Copper ; saying, he could rate his Corn, but not the Copper. Captain *Smith*, seeing his Intent, told him ; that he had many Ways, to have got Provisions, but relying on his Promises, he had neglected all to satisfy his Desire, and had sent his Men to make his Buildings, whilst his own were undone : That he knew, he had engrossed his People's Corn, and forbid them to trade ; thinking, by consuming Time, to consume them : That as for Swords and Guns, he had none to spare ; and that he must know, those, he had, could keep him from starving : Yet he would neither rob nor wrong him, nor dissolve that Friendship, they had mutually promised, unless constrained to it by bad Usage. The King listened attentively to this Discourse ; and promised, that both he and his People should spare him, what they could, and that they should receive it within two Days. But, says he, *I have some Doubt about the Reason of your coming hither. I am informed from many Hands, that you come, not to trade, but to invade my People, and to possess my Country. This makes me less ready to relieve you, and frightens my People from bringing in their Corn. And therefore to ease them of that Fear, leave your Arms aboard, since they are needless here, where we are all Friends, and for ever Powhatans.*

IN these, and many such insidious Discourses, that Day was spent. But Captain *Smith* afterwards discovered, that the *Germans*, whom he had sent to build *Powhatan's* House, finding his Plenty and the Wants of the *English*, and thinking it scarce possible, that they could escape both him and Famine, had, to gain his Favour, revealed to him all, they knew, of the State and Designs of the *English*, and advised him, how to counteract and prevent them. And this Treachery was the more odious and unsuspected, because the President had placed one of them, as a Spy upon *Powhatan*, being a Man of Judgment and Resolution, and therefore thought most proper for that Employ. And as he was sure of his Wages for his Labour, and had ever been well used, both he and his Countrymen, there was at that

that time little Doubt concerning his Honesty. But whilst they expected the coming in of the Country, they wrangled *Powhatan* out of eighty Bushels of Corn for a Copper Kettle; which the President seeing him much affect, he told him, it was of much greater Value, yet in Regard of his Scarcity, he would accept that Quantity at present, provided he should have as much more the next Year, or the *Manakin* Country. Both being satisfied with the Condition, *Powhatan* begun to expostulate the Difference of Peace and War, with Captain *Smith*, after this Manner.

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John Smith
President.

HE told him, with a Vanity usual to Persons, who affect to be thought very old, that he had seen the Death of all his People thrice; and that not one of those three Generations was then living, except himself: That he knew the Difference of Peace and War better, than any in his Country: That he was now grown old, and must die soon; and that the Succession must descend, in Order, to his Brothers, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and then to his two Sisters, and their two Daughters. He wished their Experience was equal to his; and that *Smith's* Love to them might be no less, than his to *Smith*. He asked him; Why he would take that by Force, which he might quickly have by Love? Why he would destroy them, that provided him Food? and, What he could get by War? For they could hide their Provisions, and fly into the Woods; and then he must consequently famish by wronging his Friends. He desired to know the Reason of his Jealousy, since he saw them unarmed, and willing to supply his Wants, if he would come in a friendly Manner, and not with Swords and Guns, as to invade an Enemy. And he told him; that he was not so simple, as not to know, it was better to eat good Meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with his Women and Children; to laugh and be merry with the *English*, and being their Friend, to have Copper, Hatchets, and whatever else he wanted; than to fly from all, to lie cold in the Woods, feed upon Acorns, Roots, and such Trash, and to be so hunted, that he could neither rest, eat, or sleep. In that Circumstance, his tired Men must watch, and if a Twig did but break, all would be crying out, *Here comes Captain Smith*; and so, in this miserable Manner, to end his miserable Life; which might likewise soon be Captain *Smith's* Fate too, through his Rashness and Unadvisedness. He therefore earnestly exhorted him to peaceable Counsels; and above all insisted, that the Guns and Swords, the grand Cause of their Jealousy and Uneasiness, should be removed and sent away.

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John Smith
President.

To this crafty Discourse the President replied: That it was the Fashion of the *English*, always to wear their Arms, like their Cloaths; and that they would, by no Means, part with them: That his People came frequently to *James-Town*, and were entertained with their Bows and Arrows, without any Exceptions: That if the *English* had intended him any Hurt, they could long since have effected it, as was evident to him, and all the World, especially considering the Superiority of their Arms: That altho' Revenge was always in their Power, yet, out of an Inclination to Mercy and Friendship, they passed over the daily Violations of the Peace by his Subjects: And as to hiding his Provisions, and flying into the Woods, he told him, they should not so unadvisedly starve, as he imagined. For they had a Rule to find things hidden, beyond his Knowledge. After much more Discourse, they at last began to trade. But the King, seeing that his Will would not be admitted as a Law, and that *Smith* was obstinate, not to dismiss his Guard, or disarm his Men, breathed out his Mind once more in this Manner, with a Sigh.

Captain Smith, I never use any Werowance so kindly as yourself; yet from you I receive the least Kindness of any. Captain Newport gave me Swords, Copper, Cloaths, or whatever else I desired, ever accepting what I offered him; and would send away his Guns, when requested. No one refuses to lie at my Feet, or do, what I demand, but you only. Of you I can have nothing, but what you value not, and yet you will have, whatsoever you please. Captain Newport you call Father, and so you call me; but I see, in spite of us both, you will do, what you will, and we must both study to humour and content you. But if you intend so friendly, as you say, send away your Arms. For you see, my undesigning Simplicity and Friendship cause me, thus nakedly, to forget myself.

THE President, perceiving this Barbarian only trifled the Time to cut his Throat, resolved to treat him in his own Way. He therefore procured the *Indians* to break the Ice, that his Boat might come, to fetch him and his Corn; and at the same Time, gave Order for more Men to come ashore, to surprise the King. In the mean while, to protract the Time, he endeavoured to entertain him with much specious and fallacious Discourse; promising, the next Day to quit his Arms, and to shew, by trusting to his Word, that he loved and confided in him, as a Father. But whilst the Ice was breaking, *Powhatan* conveyed himself away, with his Women, Children, and Luggage. Yet to avoid Suspicion, he left two or three of his Women talking with the President, whilst he secretly ran off, and his Men as secretly

secretly beset the House. Which being presently discovered, the President issued forth, with his Pistol, Sword, and Target. At his first Shot, those, next him, tumbled one over another; and the rest fled nimbly off, some one Way, some another. And thus, without any Hurt, only accompanied with Mr. *John Russel*, he reached the main Body of his Men. But when the *Indians* perceived him so well escaped, they used their utmost Art, to excuse and dissemble the Matter. *Powhatan* sent him a great Bracelet and Chain of Pearl by an ancient Orator, who told him, that their Emperor was fled for Fear of his Guns: That knowing, when the Ice was open, there would come more Men ashore, he had sent those Numbers, whom he had assaulted, only to guard his Corn from being stole, which might happen without the President's Knowledge: That altho' some were hurt by his Mistake, yet *Powhatan* was still his Friend, and for ever would continue so. And he desired, since the Ice was open, that he would send away his Corn; and if he expected his Company, that he would also send away his Guns, which so frightened his People, that they were afraid to bring in their Corn, as he had promised they should. And then Baskets being provided for the *English*, to carry their Corn to the Boats, those *Indians* kindly offered their Service, to guard their Arms, lest they should be stolen. There was a great Number of goodly, well-proportioned Fellows, painted and grimmed, like Devils. But the very Sight of the *English* cocking their Matches, and being ready to charge, made them quit their Bows and Arrows, at Command, to the Guard, and carry down the Corn upon their Backs. And there was no Occasion to importune them, to make Dispatch.

BUT *Powhatan* and the *Germans* were still eager to have the Head of Captain *Smith*. For if they could but kill him, they thought, all would be their own. And therefore, the *English* being staid by the Ebb till late within Night, the King spent his Time in making ready his Forces, to surprise the House and him at Supper. But *Pocahontas*, in a very dark and dismal Night, came alone through the Woods, and told the President, that great Cheer would be sent them soon; but that *Powhatan*, with all the Power, he could make, would come after to kill them all, if those, who brought the Victuals, could not effect it with their own Arms, while they were at Supper. And therefore, as they tendered their Lives, she advised them to be gone. The President would have given her such Things, as he knew, she delighted in. But, with Tears running down her Cheeks, she refused them; saying, she durst not be seen to

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1609. have any of them. For should her Father know it, it would be certain and immediate Death to her. And so she ran away, by herself, as she came. Within less than an Hour after, came eight or ten lusty Fellows, with large Platters of Venison and other Victuals; and they were very importunate with the *English*, to put out their Matches; pretending, their Smoke made them sick. But the President made them taste of every Dish; and then sent some of them back to *Powhatan*, to bid him make Haste; for he was ready for his coming. Soon after came more Messengers, to see what News; and not long after them, others. And thus was the Time spent, with equal Vigilancy on both Sides, but without any farther Hurt. At high Water, the *English* departed; but to oblige *Powhatan*, they left him, at his Request, *Edward Brynton*, to kill him Fowl, and the *Germans*, who were yet unsuspected, to finish his House.

John Smith
President.

THEY had no sooner set Sail, but *Powhatan* returned, and sent two of the *Germans* to *James-Town*. They pretended to Captain *Wynne*, that all things were well, and that the President had Occasion for their Arms; and therefore they desired new ones, with some spare Tools, and shift of Apparel; all which were readily granted them. During their loitering there, by the Promise of *Powhatan's* Favour, and of an Exemption from the Miseries, which would certainly happen to the Colony, they drew over to their Confederacy six or seven more, such expert Thieves, as presently furnished them with fifty Swords, eight Muskets, eight Pikes, and Powder and Shot; which were speedily conveyed away, by *Indians* at Hand for that Purpose. The other *German Powhatan* kept, as a Pledge; whose Diligence provided him with three hundred Tomahawks, or *Indian Hatchets*. In the mean time, *Edward Brynton* and *Thomas Savage*, seeing the *Germans* so diligent to accommodate the *Indians* with Arms, attempted to make their Escape to *James-Town*. But they were apprehended and brought back, and expected, every Minute, to be put to Death.

The President and the rest, being arrived at *Pamunkey*, were entertained some Days by the King, with great Feasting and Mirth. The Day, appointed to begin their Trade, he went ashore with Lieutenant *Percy*, Mr. *West*, Mr. *Russel*, Mr. *Behethland*, Mr. *Crosshaw*, Mr. *Powel*, Mr. *Ford*, and others to the Number of fifteen; and going up to *Opechancanough's* House, a Quarter of a Mile from the River, they found nothing but a lame Fellow and a Boy, and all the Houses round abandoned, and stripped of every thing. They staid not long, before the King came, and after

after him several of his People, loaded with Bows and Arrows. But their Commodities were so trifling, and those held at such a Rate, that the President began with the King, and said: That the Professions of his Tongue were proved by his Actions to be mere Deceit: That last Year he kindly freighted his Vessel; but had how treacherously invited him, with a View to famish and destroy him: That as the King was not ignorant of his Wants, so neither was he of the King's Plenty; of which, by some Means, he must have Part. And he told him, it was highly proper and decent for Kings, above all others, to keep their Promise. And therefore, shewing his Commodities, he offered him his Choice, and the rest, he said, he would proportion in fit Bargains for his People. *Opechancanough* seemed kindly to accept his Offer; and the better to colour his Designs, sold them, what they had, at their own Price; promising, the next Day, more Company, better provided.

THE next Day, the President, with the same fifteen, marched up to the King's House, where they found four or five Men, newly arrived, with each a great Basket. Soon after came the King; and putting on a strained Chearfulness, he entertained them in Discourse, about the great Pains he had been taking, to keep his Promise; till Mr. *Russel* brought in News, that at least seven hundred *Indians*, well armed, had invironed the House, and beset the Fields. The President, seeing some of the Company greatly dismayed at the Thought of such a Multitude, told them: That he was less concerned at the Danger and Number of the Enemy, than at the malicious Representations, which the Council, and their open mouthed Minions, would make to *England*, of his breaking the Peace: That he, alone, was once assaulted by three hundred; and had it not been for an Accident, would have made his Way good among them all: That they were now sixteen, and the Enemy but seven hundred at the most. And therefore he desired them, to fight like Men, and not die like Sheep. For if they dared to follow his Example, and to do, as he did, he doubted not, by God's Assistance, to extricate them out of the present Difficulty and Danger. The Time not permitting any Argument, they all chearfully vowed, to execute, whatever he attempted, or die. But that they might not fight for nothing, or be even ruined and starved by their Victory, the President told *Opechancanough*: That he saw his Plot to murder him, but he feared it not: That their Men had done no Harm, but by their Directions: That therefore, if each of his Men would bring a Basket of Corn, he would stake against it the Value in Copper,

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President.

and

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and they two would go over into the Island, in the River, against that Place, and decide the Matter by single Combat : That he should have his Choice, and all Advantage of Weapons : and, That the Conqueror should have all, and be Lord and Master over all their Men.

BUT duelling in fair and open Field is not the Manner of the *Indians*. Their chief Valour consists in way-laying and murdering the unsuspecting and unprovided, or perhaps the weak and helpless. Neither had *Opechancanough* such Regard for the Lives of his Subjects, as to save them from Danger, at the Hazard of his own. He therefore kindly endeavoured to appease the President's Anger and Suspicion, by a Present at the Door, which he intreated him to accept. This was only to draw him out; where the Bait was guarded with two hundred Men, besides thirty, which lay behind a great Tree, fallen across, with each his Arrow notched, ready to shoot. But the President, having discovered the Treachery, seized the King, in the Midst of his Men, by his long Lock of Hair, and presented his Pistol, ready cocked, to his Breast. Thus he led him, trembling and half dead with Fear, among his People; who were easily induced to throw down their Arms, and to deliver the King's Vambrace, Bow, and Arrows; little dreaming, that any one durst to use their King in that Manner. And now *Opechancanough*, to rescue himself, bestowed his Presents in serious Sadness; and his Subjects, being upbraided and threatened by the President in a smart and angry Speech, mixed with some Expressions of Love and Confidence, cast away their Bows and Arrows, and Men, Women, and Children, brought in their Commodities. For two or three Hours, they so thronged and wearied him, that he retired into the House to rest, leaving others to trade, and receive their Presents. Whilst he was asleep, fifty of their choice Men, with each an *English* Sword or Club in his Hand, and seconded by two or three hundred more, pressed into the House to murder him. But the President, being waked from his Sleep, by the Noise of the People and shaking of the House, betook himself to his Arms, together with Mr. *Crosshaw* and some others; which soon made them throng back, faster than they came. But *Opechancanough* and some of his Ancients, who were kept Prisoners with him, endeavoured, in a long Oration, to excuse this Intrusion. The rest of the Day was spent with much Kindness, the *Indians* renewing their Presents, and feasting the *English* with their best Provisions.

WHILE these things were transacting, there happened an unlucky Accident at the Fort. Mr. *Scrivener* had received

ceived Letters from *England*, which gave him towering Thoughts, and made him decline entirely in his Affection and Friendship to Captain *Smith*, who still regarded and loved him, as his Brother. This made him more headstrong and conceited, than was naturally consistent with his Prudence and Moderation. And having taken it into his Head to visit *Hog-Island*, he could not be turned from it, by the Advice and repeated Entreaties of Captain *Waldo* and several others. Therefore, taking with him Captain *Waldo*, who was not to be absent from the Fort, but to be ready to second the President, if called for, and Mr. *Anthony Gofnold*, a very worthy, honest, and industrious Gentleman, and Brother to Captain *Bartholomew Gofnold*, with eight others, he went into the Skiff. She was so overloaded, that she scarce could have lived in calm Weather; but, in that cold and boisterous Day, she sunk, none knowing how or where, and all aboard were drowned. To advertise the President of this heavy News, none could be got, till Mr. *Richard Wyffin* undertook it alone. He was encountered with many Dangers and Difficulties, in all Places, as he passed. And at *Werowocomoco*, not finding the President, and perceiving such Preparations for War, he was certainly assured, that some Mischief was intended. But *Pocahontas* hid him for a Time, and sent those, who pursued him, the quite contrary Way. At length, by her Means and extraordinary Bribes and Trouble, in three Days Travel, he found the President at *Pamunkey*, in the Midst of those Broils and Difficulties. The President, having sworn him to conceal this unhappy News from the Company, and dissembling his Sorrow with the best Countenance, he could, went safely aboard at Night, and left *Opechancanough* at Liberty, according to his Promise, and likewise with a Design, the better to entrap *Powhatan* in his Return. Soon after, he went down the River, having searched the Countries of *Yough-tanund* (now *Pamunkey* River) and *Mattaponi*; where the poor Creatures imparted the little Corn, they had, with such Complaints, and Tears from the Eyes of Women and Children, as fully satisfied, and moved them with Compassion.

Powhatan had threatened Death to his Men, if they did not, by some Means or other, kill Captain *Smith*. But they hated fighting with him, almost as bad as hanging. And the President, on his Side, was as eager, to surprise and take that subtle and perfidious Barbarian. Therefore, in his Way down the River, there were many Feints and Strategems, on both Parts, but without any remarkable Effect. Only the President, with Mr. *West* and some others,

would

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1609. would have been poisoned, had their Art been equal to their Will. It only made them Sick, and so worked itself off. And thus, through many Dangers and Difficulties, they returned to *James-Town*; where they delivered, near 200 lbs. of Deer's Suet, and 479 Bushels of Corn, to the Cape-Merchant.

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President.

AT *James-Town* they found nothing done, but their Provisions spent, and a great Part of their Tools and Arms conveyed to the *Indians*. But altho' what was left by the Ship was so rotten with the Rain, and so mangled by the Rats and Worms, that the Hogs would scarcely eat it, yet upon casting up their Store, they found a sufficient Provision for the Year. Wherefore, the Fear of starving being laid aside, the Company was ranged into proper Divisions, and six Hours each Day spent in Work, the rest in Pastime and merry Exercises. And the President, having called them together, told them: That their late Experience and Misery were sufficient to persuade every one to a present Amendment: That they must not think, that either his Pains, or the Adventurers Purfes, would for ever maintain them in Sloth and Idleness: That he knew, many deserved more Honour, and a better Reward, than was yet to be had; but that far the greatest Part of them must be more industrious, or starve: That it was not reasonable, that the Labours of thirty or forty honest and industrious Men should be consumed, to maintain an hundred and fifty Loiterers: and, That therefore every one, that would not work, should not eat: That they had often been screened and protected, in their Disobedience to his just and necessary Commands, by the Authority of the Council: But that now, all being either dead or gone, except Captain *Wynne* and himself, that whole Power rested, in Effect, solely in him. And therefore, he advised them, not to feed themselves up with the vain Presumption, that his Authority was but a Shadow, and that his Life must answer for theirs. For the Letters Patent, and other Powers, would prove the contrary, and should, every Week, be read to them; and every one, that offended, might assuredly expect his due Punishment. He also made a Table, as a publick Memorial of each Man's Deserts, to encourage the Good, and to spur on the rest by Shame. By this, many became very industrious; but more were driven to their Business, by Punishment, and the President's extraordinary Vigor and Diligence.

As they came down *Pamunkey* (since called *York River*) off of *Werowocomoco*, the President had sent Mr. *Chroshaw* and Mr. *Ford* to *James-Town*, by Land. In their Way, they

they met four or five of the *German's* Confederates, going to *Powhatan*; who to clear themselves from those Gentlemen's Suspicion, that they were running to the *Indians*, returned with them to the Fort, and there continued. But the *Germans*, to know the Reason of their Stay, sent one of their Company, a stout young Fellow, disguised like an *Indian*, to the Glass-house. This stood in the Woods, about a Mile from *James-Town*, and was the common Place of Rendezvous for all their secret Villany. The President, hearing of this, immediately sent to apprehend this *German*. But he being gone, he dispatched twenty good Shot after, to intercept him in his Return to *Powhatan*. They soon brought him back, and notwithstanding his fair Tale and plausible Excuses, he was thrown into Prison. However the President spared his Life, hoping thereby to regain his Countrymen.

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President.

CAPTAIN *Smith*, having sent all his Men after the *German*, returned from the Glass-house alone, armed only with a Fauchéon. In his Way he met the King of *Paspahy*, a Man of great Strength and gigantic Stature. At first, he endeavoured to draw the President into his Ambuscade; but failing in that, he attempted to shoot him. But *Smith*, to prevent it, closed in and grappled with him. And the *Indian*, by mere Dint of Strength, bore him into the River, with a Design to drown him. Long they struggled in the Water, till the President got such Hold of his Throat, that he almost strangled him. And then, having disengaged himself, so as to draw his Fauchéon, the poor Savage begged his Life, in such a pitiful Manner, that he led him to *James-Town*, and put him into Chains, where he continued for some time, till by the Negligence of his Keepers, he escaped. Some Endeavours were used to retake him, but without Effect; only the President took two *Indians* Prisoners, *Kemps* and *Tuffore*, the two most exquisite Villains in all the Country. These Men would have betrayed both King and Kindred for a Piece of Copper; and had Captain *Wynne* and Lieutenant *Percy*, who were sent upon the Business with fifty Men, followed their Directions, they would certainly have regained the King, and been fully revenged for the Injury and Assault. However, that this might not encourage them to farther Boldness, they attacked and slew several of the Nation, burnt their Houses, took their Canoes and fishing Weirs, and planted some of them at *James-Town*, and were resolved to prosecute them with War, till they were fully humbled and subdued.

NOT

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NOT long after, the President, passing by *Paspahay* in his Way to *Chickahominy*, was assaulted by them. But as soon as they knew him, they all threw down their Arms, and sued for Peace. Their Spokesman was a lusty young Fellow, named *Okaning*, whose Discourse well deserves to be remembered. He told the President, that the King, his Master, was there present in the Company: That they took him for Captain *Wynne*, who pursued them in War, altho' they had never injured him: That if the King offended him in escaping from Prison, he ought to consider, that the Fishes swim, the Fowls fly, and the very Beasts strive to escape the Snare and live: That therefore, his Master, who was a Man, ought not to be blamed, for following this necessary Instinct of Nature even in brute Animals. He reminded him of the Pains, his Master took, to save his Life, when a Prisoner; and if he had since injured him, he was compelled to it, and it had however been already fully revenged, to their too great Loss. And he further told him, if he still persisted in his Resolution to destroy them, they must abandon their Habitation, and settle somewhere beyond his Reach; which would only cost them more Labour, but would be of worse Consequence to the *English*, who could not well subsist without their Corn and Fruits. And therefore he earnestly entreated him to grant them his Friendship, and to permit them to enjoy their Houses, and plant their Fields, in Peace and Security. Concluding, that if he would promise them Peace, they would trust to his Word; but if he proceeded in his Revenge, they would quit the Country. Whereupon the President promised them Peace, if they would do no farther Injury, and would bring in Provisions to the Fort. To which they joyfully agreed, and parted good Friends, and so continued, till *Smith* left the Country.

SOON after this, an *Indian*, who had been imprisoned at *James-Town* for Theft, had so stifled himself, by a Charcoal Fire in a close Room of the Prison, that he seemed to be dead. But the President, by the Application of Vinegar and *Aqua-vitæ*, brought him to himself, which was soon spread abroad among the *Indians*, throughout the whole Country, as a Miracle; and it was generally believed, that Captain *Smith* could raise a dead Man to Life. And another at *Werowocomoco*, having got a large Bag of Powder, to shew his extraordinary Skill among his Companions, dried it on the Back of an Armour, as he had seen the Soldiers at *James-Town* do. Many stood peeping over, to see his Skill; till at last it took Fire, and blew him, with one or two more, to Death, and so scorched and mangled the rest,

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that it raised a vast Dread and Astonishment in them, and a great Admiration of the Power and Art of the *English*. These, with some other Accidents, so frightened and amazed *Powhatan* and his People, that they flocked from all Parts, and with Presents desired Peace; returning many stolen Things, which had never been demanded, or thought of, by the *English*. And ever after, during the Remainder of Capt. *Smith's* Administration, both *Powhatan* and his People would send back to *James-Town* such, as had been taken stealing, to receive their Punishment; and the whole Country became as absolutely free and safe to the *English*, as to themselves.

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AND now the Colony pursued their Business with Alacrity and Success. They made three or four Last of Tar, Pitch, and Soap-Ashes; produced a Trial of Glass; sunk a Well in the Fort, of excellent Water, which till then was wanting; built about twenty Houses; new-covered the Church; provided Nets and Weirs for fishing; and to stop the Disorders of the Thieves and *Indians*, they built a Block-house in the Neck of the Island, to receive the Trade of the *Indians*; and none, neither *Indian* nor Christian, was suffered to pass or repass, without the President's Order. Thirty or forty Acres of Ground were broke up and planted. Of three Sows, in eighteen Months, increased sixty odd Pigs; and near five hundred Chickens brought up themselves, without having any thing given them. But the Hogs were transported to Hog-Island; where also was built a Block-house, with a Garrison, to give Notice of any Ships; and for their Exercise at leisure Times, they made Clapboard and Wainscot. In this Time, died Captain *Wynne*; so that the Government devolved wholly upon the President, as it had before in Effect done, by his having two Voices in the Council.

BUT this Flow of Plenty and Prosperity lasted not long. For, upon Examination, they found half their Corn rotten, and the rest consumed by Rats; which, coming originally from the Ships, had increased to incredible Multitudes. So that all Works were intermitted, and the People sufficiently employed to get Provisions. But at first, the *Indians*, to express their Love, brought in an hundred a Day, at least, of Squirrels, Turkeys, Deer, and other wild Beasts; and *Powhatan* spared them near half his Stock of Corn. But the President was nevertheless obliged to detach sixty or eighty down the River, to live upon Oysters. Twenty were sent to the Falls with Mr. *West*; and as many more with Lieutenant *Percy* to *Point Comfort*, to try for a Fishery. But he being very sick, and sorely burnt with Gun-powder, they would not agree in six Weeks, once to cast out their

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Net. Many were billeted among the *Indians*, who knew, that they had such a commanding Power at *James-Town*, that they durst not wrong them in the least. And in all this Time of Distress, they caught more Sturgeon than could be devoured by Man and Dog. This the industrious, drying and pounding, would mingle with Caviare, Sorrel, and wholesome Herbs, and make Bread and good Meat. Others would gather as much Tuckahoe Root in a Day, as would make them Bread for a Week. So that, upon these wild Products, and what they caught, the diligent lived very well and plentifully.

YET such was the insufferable Sloth and unreasonable Perverfeness of far the greater Number, that they would sooner have perished, than have been at the Pains to gather Food. And they were even importunate with the President, to sell their Tools and Iron, nay, their Swords and Firelocks, and their very Houses and Ordinance, to the *Indians* for this Trash. And they took Occasion from hence, in a very turbulent and clamorous Manner, to insist on the Necessity of leaving the Country. But the President, having punished one of the worst and most seditious among them, called the rest together, and represented to them the extreme Folly and Iniquity of their Proceedings. And he told them, that if any more were found attempting to run away to *Newfoundland* with the Bark, they might assuredly expect the Gallows, as their Fate: That he never had more from the Store than the worst of them; for they well knew and saw, that his extraordinary Allowance, as President, was constantly distributed among the Sick: and, That since he found, Necessity had not Power to force them to gather the Fruits of the Earth, he was resolved, that they should gather, not only for themselves, but also for the Sick; and that whosoever would not gather, every Day, as much, as he himself did, should, the next Day, be set beyond the River, and banished from the Fort, as a Drone. This Order raised a great Clamour and Outcry; but it made most of them bestir themselves so well, that they had Plenty of Food to eat, and continued very healthy and strong. Yet many of them, understanding, how well they were used, that were billeted among the *Indians*, ran away to *Kemps* and *Tussore*, their old Prisoners. But *Kemps* first made himself Sport with them, shewing his Countrymen, how he was used, when a Prisoner, and feeding them upon this Condition, that they, who would not work, should not eat; and then he carried them back, by Force, to the President.

THIS deterred many others, who intended to follow; and made them content, rather to labour at home, than venture
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among the *Indians*. For the Kings, and better Sort of that People, were so afraid, or so friendly, that when the *English* punished some of their baser Sort with great Severity, they would hire them, not to tell it to their Kings or Countrymen; lest they should punish them again, and send them to *James-Town*, to give full Satisfaction to the President.

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ABOUT this time, Mr. *Sicklemore* returned from *Chawonock*; but without any Information of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* lost Company, or satisfactory Account of the Silk-grafs. And the President, to pursue a Point, thought so necessary by the Council in *England*, sent off Mr. *Nathaniel Powel* and *Anas Todkill*, to the *Mangoags*, a Nation of *Indians*, not subject to *Powhatan*, dwelling on the upper Branches of *Nottoway*, or some small Streams of *Roanoke River*. He obtained Guides from the King of the *Quiyoughquohanocks*, a small Nation of *Indians*, seated on the South Side of *James River*, about ten Miles above *James-Town*. This good King did ever affect the *English* above all others; and altho' he was very zealous to his false Gods, yet he confessed, that the *English* God as much exceeded his, as their Guns did his Bow and Arrows; and in Time of Drought, he would often send Presents to Captain *Smith*, to pray to his God for Rain. His Guides conducted *Powel* and *Todkill*, three Days Journey, into a high Country, towards the *South-West*; where they saw, here and there, a Corn-field, by some little Spring or small Brook, but no large River. The People were, in all Respects, like the rest, except their Language. They lived chiefly by hunting, and on Fruits and Roots; and they trafficked their Skins with those towards the Sea and fatter Countries, for dried Fish and Corn. But neither did they here, or ever after, hear any thing of this Colony, left by Mr. *White*, in the Year 1587, on one of the Islands of *Hatteras*.

ALL this while, they employed one *William Volday*, a *Zwitzer*, by Promises and Pardons to reclaim his Countrymen, the *Germans*, and one *Bentley*, another Fugitive. But this vile Hypocrite, pretending highly to detest their Villany, hereby got an Opportunity, to convey them every thing, they wanted, to effect their Projects, and destroy the Colony. With much Devotion they looked for the *Spaniard*, to whom they were willing and intended to do good Service. And finding, the *English* were obliged to disperse themselves to gather Food, they importuned *Powhatan* to lend them his Forces; and they undertook, not only to destroy the Hogs, fire the Town, and seize on the Bark, but to bring most of the Colony to his Service and Subjection. This Scheme was communicated to many of their Confederates at the Fort; but two, whose Hearts re-

1609. lented at the Horror of the Act, revealed it to the President. He ordered them to keep it still a Secret, and to draw them into such Ambuscades, as he had prepared. But the thing taking Air, and coming to the Ears of the impatient Multitude, they were outrageous to go and destroy them immediately. Lieutenant *Percy* and Mr. *John Codrington*, two Gentlemen of high and resolute Spirits, offered their Service, to go to *Werowocomoco*, and to cut their Throats before the Face of *Powhatan*. But the President cared not to hazard such Persons, for whom he had other Employment; and gave Way to Mr. *Wyffin* and Sergeant *Jeffery Abbot*, to undertake the Matter. But the *Germans* so blinded *Abbot*, with a fair Tale, that he relented; and *Wyffin*, tho' willing, cared not to attempt it alone. When *Powhatan* understood their Business, he sent immediately to the President, to inform him, that he neither detained them, nor hindered his Men from executing his Command. For he neither did, nor would, maintain them, or any other, to his Displeasure. But altho' these treacherous Foreigners did all, they could, to raise and incense *Powhatan* and the *Indians* against the *English*, yet such exact Intelligence had Captain *Smith* of their Plots, that their Machinations were his greatest Advantage and Security. And if any Commotion had happened, he always had it in his Power to take Revenge. For all the Country now stood more in Fear of him, than of *Powhatan*; and he had such Parties among the bordering Nations, that, out of Love or Fear, they would have done any thing, he commanded. However, not long after, one of the *Germans* returned to his Duty; but the other still remained with *Powhatan*.

WHILST these things were passing, Captain *Samuel Argall* arrived, who was afterwards an active Person here, and a noted Governor of the Country. He came to truck with the Colony, and to fish for Sturgeon, with a Ship well furnished with Wine and other good Provision. This was, at that Time, a prohibited Trade; but he being a Kinsman to Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treasurer, it was connived at and overlooked. The Necessities of the Colony obliged them to take his Provisions, by which his Voyage was lost; but they revictualled him, when their next Supply arrived, and sent him to *England* with a full Account of the State of their Affairs. By this Ship, they received Letters, which taxed the President for his hard Usage of the Natives, and for not returning the Ships freighted. And now also, they first had an Account of the Alterations in *England*, and of the great Preparations and large Supply, to be sent by the Lord *Delawarr*, appointed Captain-General and Governor in Chief of *Virginia*.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
V I R G I N I A.

B O O K I I I.



THE Treafurer, Council, and Company in *England*, were ftill intent upon prefent Gain, and gaping after the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru* from their Difcovery; and upon the laft Voyage, not finding that Profit and Return, they expected, they were much difappointed and enraged. To this was added *Newport's* Account of things, which was certainly not very favourable to their Conduct and Management in *Virginia*. The Company therefore made Interelt to his Majefty, to grant them a new Charter, which bears Date the 23d of *May* 1609, and contains larger Powers and more ample Privileges, than the former; as may be feen in the Original, printed at large in the Appendix. By this Charter the Power and Authority of the Prefident and Council in *Virginia* were exprefly abrogated; and they were ftreightly commanded, upon their Allegiance, to pay Obedience to fuch Governor or Governors, as fhould be appointed by the Council in *England*. In Confequence of which Power, the Council conftituted Sir *Thomas Weft*, Lord *Delawarr*, Captain-General of *Virginia*; Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant-General; Sir *George Somers*, Admiral; Captain *Newport*, Vice-Admiral; Sir *Thomas Dale*, High-Marſhal; Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, General of the Horſe; and fo, many other Offices, to feveral worthy Gentlemen, for their Lives.

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John Smith
Prefident.

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John Smith
President.

THIS new Charter was granted to the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Southampton*, *Pembroke*, and other Peers, to the Number of twenty one; to the Honourable *George Percy* and *Francis West*, Esqrs; to Sir *Humphrey Weld*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and ninety eight other Knights, expressly named; and to Dr. *Matthew Sutcliffe*, with a great Multitude more, of Doctors, Esquires, Gentlemen, Officers, Merchants, and Citizens, together with many Corporations and Companies of *London*. So many Persons of great Power, Interest, and Fortune, engaging in the Enterprize, and the Lord *Delawarr*, with the other Gentlemen of Distinction, appointed to the several Offices, soon drew in such large Sums of Money, that they dispatched away Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captain *Newport*, with nine Ships, and five hundred People. These three Gentlemen had, each of them, a Commission, who first arrived; to call in the old. But because they could not agree for Place, it was concluded, that they should all go in one Ship, called the *Sea-Venture*. They sailed from *England*, the latter End of *May* 1609; but the 25th of *July*, the Admiral-Ship was parted from the rest of the Fleet, by the Tail of a Hurricane, having on board the three Commanders, an hundred and fifty Men, their new Commission, and Bills of Lading, together with all Manner of Instructions and Directions, and the best Part of their Provisions. She arrived not, but was foundered on *Bermudas*, as shall be hereafter related. A small Catch likewise perished in the Hurricane; but the seven other Ships came safe. In them, as Captains, came *Ratcliffe* (whose right Name, as is said, was *Sicklemore*) *Martin*, and *Archer*, with Captain *Wood*, Captain *Webbe*, Captain *Moon*, Captain *King*, Captain *Davies*, Mr. *Ralph Hamer*, and divers other Gentlemen, of good Fortune, and eminent Birth. The President, being informed by his Scouts of the Arrival of this Fleet, little dreamed of such a Supply, but supposed them, at first, to be *Spaniards*. He therefore put himself into the best Posture of Defence, he could; and being seconded by the *Indians* (who, upon this Occasion, shewed their Friendship, and prepared, with great Alacrity, to assist the *English* with their utmost Power) they thought themselves so well provided for the Reception of an Enemy, that they little feared their Coming.

Ratcliffe, *Martin*, and *Archer*, had bred much Disturbance at Sea, and had paved the Way, for being even more troublesome ashore. For they had infused such Jealousies and Prejudices into the Company against Captain *Smith*, that they mortally hated him, before they had ever seen him.

him. But several of better Sense and Experience among them, from their first landing, hearing the general good Report of his old Soldiers, and seeing the Prudence and Uprightness of his Actions, were soon undeceived, and saw into the Malice of *Ratcliffe* and his Faction. They therefore left their Society, and ever adhered to Captain *Smith*, as his firm and faithful Friends. But a great Part of this new Company consisted of unruly Sparks, packed off by their Friends, to escape worse Destinies at home. And the rest were chiefly made up of poor Gentlemen, broken Tradesmen, Rakes and Libertines, Footmen, and such others, as were much fitter to spoil or ruin a Commonwealth, than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd Company therefore were led by their seditious Captains, into many Mischiefs and Extravagancies. They assumed to themselves the Power of disposing of the Government; and conferred it sometimes on one, and sometimes on another. To-day, the old Commission must rule; To-morrow, the new; and next Day, neither. So that, all was Anarchy and Distraction; neither were there any Hopes, from the present Posture of Affairs, but of the utmost Misery and Confusion.

THE *German* also, that had returned to the *English*, seeing this distracted State of things, and hoping for some Advantage from it, fled again, with one of his Consorts, to *Powhatan*; to whom he promised Wonders, at the Arrival of Lord *Delawarr*. But that sensible Barbarian, knowing the Wickedness and Perfidy of their Nature, replied; That they, who would have betrayed Captain *Smith* to him, would certainly betray him to this great Lord, to make their Peace. And so, he ordered his Men, to beat out their Brains. But *Volday*, the *Zwitzer*, made a shift to get to *England*; where persuading the Merchants, what rich Mines he had found, and what Services he would do them, he was well rewarded, and sent back with the Lord *Delawarr*. But being found a mere Impostor, he died in a most contemned and miserable Manner.

CAPTAIN *Smith*, all this Time of Turbulency and Distraction, was sadly troubled and perplexed, how to proceed. At first, finding his Authority thus unexpectedly cancelled and changed, he resolved to leave all, and return for *England*. But afterwards, seeing, there was little Hope of the Arrival of this new Commission, and that his own was not legally superseded, but by the actual Production of another, he determined to bear up, and to act with Vigor and Resolution. He therefore set himself, with great Courage, and the perpetual Hazard of his Life, to oppose this

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rent of Faction and Immorality; and at last, so far mastered it, that he cast *Ratcliffe*, *Archer*, and the other Chiefs, into Prison, till he had more Leisure, to bring them to a fair and legal Trial. And the better to dissipate the Humours, and to break their Confederacies, he sent Mr. *West*, with an hundred and twenty, the best, he could chuse, to make a Settlement at the Falls; and *Martin*, with near the same Number, to *Nansamond*; allowing each their due Proportion of all the Provisions, according to their Number. And now the Year of his Presidency being near expired, he made Captain *Martin*, who was become more tractable, President in his Room. But *Martin*, knowing his own Insufficiency, and the People's Unruliness and little Regard for him, within three Hours, resigned it again to Captain *Smith*. For as *Ratcliffe* had been removed from the Council, and was not again restored, *Martin* and *Smith* were the only two then in the Country, that could either elect, or be elected President. And *Martin*, having thus wisely disengaged himself from an Office, which he was then no ways able to execute or support, proceeded to make his Settlement at *Nansamond*. That Nation, having been reduced to Subjection and Contribution, used him kindly; yet such were his unreasonable Jealousy and Fear, that he surpris'd the poor naked King, and his Monuments and Houses, with the Island, wherein he lived, and there fortified himself. But the *Indians*, soon perceiving his Fear and Distraction, ventured to assault him; and they killed several of his Men, released their King, and gathered and carried off a thousand Bushels of Corn; whilst he, in the mean while, never once offered to intercept them, but sent to the President, then at the Falls, for thirty Soldiers. These were presently sent him, from *James-Town*. But he so employed them, that they did nothing, and soon returned, complaining of his Tendernefs and Cowardice. And he likewise, leaving his Company to their Fortunes, came away with them to *James-Town*.

THE President followed the other Company up to the Falls, to see them well seated. But he was surpris'd, in his Way, to meet Captain *West*, so soon returning to *James-Town*; and he found the Settlement very inconsiderately made, in a Place, not only liable to the River's Inundation, but also subject to many other intolerable Inconveniences. To remedy which, he immediately sent to *Powhatan*, to purchase the Place, called *Powhatan*. The Conditions of their Agreement were these: That the *English* should defend him against the *Manakins*: That he should resign to them the Fort and the Houses, with all that Country, for a Pro-

Proportion of Copper: That all Thieves should be sent thither, to receive their Punishment: That every House, as a Custom, should pay the President a Bushel of Corn, for an Inch square of Copper, and a certain Quantity of Pocones to King *James*, for their Protection: and, That they should barter, what else they could spare, at their best Discretion. But Captain *West's* Company depended so much on the Lord General's new Commission, that they regarded no Person or thing. And supposing the *Manakins'* Country reached to the *South-Sea*, and was all Gold, they pleased themselves with the vain Conceit, that it was entirely under their Power and Command, and that none should go thither, but whom they pleased. They therefore rejected the President with Insolence and Contempt. However he ventured, with five Men, to land among them; and committed the Heads of the Mutiny to Prison, till, by their Numbers, they obliged him to retire. In making off, he happily surprised one of their Boats, with which he returned to the Ship; and had not the Mariners proved very tractable and faithful to him, he had small Means and little Probability of escaping their Fury.

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THE *Indians* also came to him; complaining, that he had brought them, for Protectors, worse Enemies, than the *Manakins* themselves; that they stole their Corn, robbed their Gardens, broke open their Houses, beat them, and kept several in Prison; and that, till then, they had borne all this, out of Love to him, but desired Pardon, if hereafter they defended themselves. They likewise offered him their Assistance, and to fight for him against them, if he would lead them on. But having spent nine Days, to no Purpose, in endeavouring to reclaim them, he departed for *James-Town*. The Ship was no sooner under Sail, but twelve *Indians* assaulted those hundred and twenty in their Fort. And finding many straggling abroad in the Woods, they killed some, and so frightened the rest, that their Countrymen in Prison escaped, and they went safely off, with the Swords and Cloaks of those, they had slain. But before the Ship had sailed half a League, she grounded; which gave the President an Opportunity of summoning them, once more, to a Parley. And now he found them so amazed with that silly Assault of the *Indians*, that they surrendered themselves, upon any Terms, to his Mercy. He therefore laid six or seven of the chief Offenders by the Heels; and seated the rest at *Powhatan*, the strongest and most pleasant Place, he had seen in the Country; and for that Reason, they called it *Nonfuch*. Here they had dry Houses for Lodgings, near two hundred Acres of Land, cleared

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John Smith
President.

AND now, new Officers being appointed, and the President ready to depart, just at that Instant arrived Captain *West*; whose gentle Nature was so wrought on and abused, by Compassion for the Prisoners, and the Persuasions of the Mutineers, who alledged, they had only done this for his Honour, that all things were again thrown into Confusion and Mutiny. But the President, having no Inclination to contend with Mr. *West*, and little Power to curb their Insolence, left them to their Fortunes, and returned to *James-Town*. And soon after they abandoned *Nonfuch*, and went back to their first Settlement at *West's-Fort*.

BUT passing down the River, as Captain *Smith* was asleep in the Boat, his Powder-bag, by some Accident, was fired; which tore the Flesh from his Body and Thighs, nine or ten Inches square, in a most dreadful Manner. To quench the Fire, which fryed and tormented him in his Cloaths, he leaped overboard, and was almost drowned, before they could recover him. In this piteous State, he arrived at *James-Town*; where *Ratcliffe*, *Archer*, and the rest of their Confederates, were soon to come to their Trials. But their guilty Consciences misgiving them, and seeing the President unable to stand, and almost bereft of his Senses by reason of his Torment, they entered into a Conspiracy to Murder him in his Bed. But his Heart failed him, who was to have given Fire to the Pistol. And so, being disappointed in this Purpose, they joined together, to usurp the Government, and thereby escape their Punishment. In the mean time, the President's old Soldiers, being provoked, beyond all Patience, at their Malice and Sedition, flocked to him, and importuned him to give them but the Word, and they would fetch the Heads of the boldest among them, that durst resist his Commands. Yet he would not suffer them to bring the Matter to a civil Broil; but sent immediately for the Masters of the Ships, and took Order with them for his Return to *England*. For there was neither Chirurgeon nor Chirurgery at the Fort; and his Wounds were so grievous, and Torments so cruel, that few expected, he could live. And he likewise highly repented, and was much chagrined, to see his Authority suppressed, he knew not why; himself and his Soldiers to be rewarded for their past Labours and Dangers, he knew not how;

how; and a new Commission granted, to they knew not whom. And besides, he found himself unable to follow his Business, suppress those Factions, and range the Country for Provisions, as he before intended. And he well knew, that his own Presence and Activity were as requisite in those Affairs, as his Advice and Directions. For all which Reasons, he resolved upon leaving the Country, and went presently on board one of the Ships.

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CAPTAIN *Percy* had been, for some time, in a very bad State of Health, and had taken his Passage in one of the Ships, to go to *England*. But now, upon *Smith's* Departure, many came about him, and by Intreaties and Persuasions, prevailed with him to stay, and take upon him the Government. But there were many others up in Arms, calling themselves Presidents and Counsellors; several of which began now to fawn upon and sollicite *Smith*, to give up his Commission to them. And after much ado, and many bitter Repulses, that their Ruin and Confusion might not be attributed to him, for leaving the Country without a Commission, he permitted it to be stolen, but never could be induced to resign it into such vile Hands. In which he seems to have been something froward and peevish. For since the old Soldiers, and better Sort of new Comers, had generally agreed upon Captain *Percy* for their Governor, a Person every way fit for the Office, except in Point of Health, it would have been but reasonable in him, to have endeavoured to confirm him in his Authority, and when he departed, to have delivered up his Commission to him.

The Hon.
George Percy
Esq; Gover-
nor.

AND thus, about *Michaelmas* 1609, Captain *Smith* left the Country, never again to see it. He left behind him three Ships and seven Boats; Commodities ready for Trade; the Corn newly gathered; ten Weeks Provision in the Store; four hundred ninety and odd Persons; twenty four Pieces of Ordinance; three hundred Muskets, with other Arms and Ammunition, more than sufficient for the Men; the *Indians*, their Language, and Habitations, well known to an hundred trained and expert Soldiers; Nets for fishing; Tools, of all Sorts, to work; Apparel, to supply their Wants; six Mares and a Horse; five or six hundred Hogs; as many Hens and Chickens; with some Goats, and some Sheep. For whatever had been brought, or bred here, still remained. But this seditious and distracted Rabble, regarding not any thing, but from Hand to Mouth, riotously consumed, what there was; and took Care for nothing, but to colour and make out some Complaints against Captain *Smith*. For this End, the Ships were staid three Weeks, at a great Charge, till they could produce and bring

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bring them to bear. But, notwithstanding their perverse Humours and unreasonable Clamours, Captain *Smith* was undoubtedly a Person of a very great and generous Way of thinking, and full of a high Idea of the publick Good and his Country's Honour. To his Vigor, Industry, and undaunted Spirit and Resolution, the Establishment and firm Settlement of this Colony was certainly owing; and therefore it may not be unacceptable to the Reader, to have some farther Account of his Person and Actions. And this we are enabled to do the more authentically, as he hath himself, at the Request of Sir *Robert Cotton*, the famous Antiquarian, left a brief Relation of his principal Travels and Adventures.

HE was born a Gentleman, to a competent Fortune, at *Willoughby* in *Lincolnshire*, in the Year 1579. From his very Childhood, he had a roving and romantic Fancy, and was strangely set upon performing some brave and adventurous Atchievement. Accordingly, being about thirteen Years of Age at School, he sold his Satchel and Books, and all, he had, to raise Money, in order to go secretly beyond Sea. But his Father dying just at that Time, he was stopped for the present, and fell into the Hands of Guardians, more intent on improving his Estate, than him. However, at fifteen, in the Year 1594, he was bound to a Merchant at *Lynne*, the most considerable Trader in those Parts. But because he would not send him immediately to Sea, he found Means, in the Train of Mr. *Peregrine Bertie*, second Son to the Lord *Willoughby*, to pass into *France*. Here, and in the Low-Countries, he first learnt the Rudiments of War; to which Profession he was led, by a strong Propensity of Genius. He was afterwards carried into *Scotland*, with delusive Hopes, from a *Scottish* Gentleman, of being effectually recommended to King *James*. But soon finding himself baffled in his Expectations, he returned to *Willoughby*, his native Place; where meeting with no Company, agreeable to his Way of thinking, he retired into a Wood, at a good Distance from any Town, and there built himself a Pavilion of Boughs, and was wholly employed, in studying some Treatises of the Art of War, and in the Exercise of his Horse and Lance. But his Friends, being concerned at such a whimsical Turn of Mind, prevailed with an *Italian* Gentleman, Rider to the Earl of *Lincoln*, to insinuate himself into his Acquaintance; and as he was an expert Horseman, and his Talent and Studies lay the same Way with Mr. *Smith's*, he drew him from his sylvan Retirement, to spend some time with him at *Tattersfall*.

BUT

BUT *Smith's* restless Genius soon hurried him again into *Flanders*; where lamenting to see such Effusion of Christian Blood, he resolved to try his Fortune against the *Turks*. In order to this, he passed through *France*, with Variety of Adventure and Misfortune, in which he always shewed a high and martial Spirit. At *Marseilles* he embarked for *Italy*. But the Ship meeting with much foul Weather, a Rabble of Pilgrims, on board, hourly cursed him for a Hugonot, railed at Queen *Elizabeth* and his whole Nation, and swore, they should never have fair Weather, as long as he was in the Ship. At last, the Passions of these pious Christians rose so high, that they threw him overboard; trusting, we may suppose, in the Merit and Supererogation of that holy Pilgrimage, to expiate the trifling Offence and Peccadillo of Murder. However, *Smith*, by the Divine Assistance, got safe to a small uninhabited Island, against *Nice* in *Savoy*. From thence he was, the next Day, taken off by a *French* Rover, who treated him very kindly, and with whom he therefore made the Tour of the whole *Mediterranean*, both on the *Mahometan* and the Christian Coasts. At length, after a desperate Battle, having taken a very rich *Venetian* Ship, the generous *Frenchman* set him ashore, with his Share of the Prize; amounting to five hundred Sequens in Specie, and a Box of rich Commodities, worth near as much more. And now out of Curiosity ranging all the Regions and Principalities of *Italy*, he at last went to *Vienna*, and entered himself a Gentleman Volunteer; in Count *Meldritch's* Regiment, against the *Turk*.

HE had not been long in the Christian Army, before he was distinguished for a Man of great personal Bravery; and in the Sieges of *Olumpagh* and *Alba-Regalis*, he was the Author of some Stratagems, which shewed a happy Talent for War, and did signal Service to the Christian Cause. He was thereupon immediately advanced to the Command of a Troop of Horse; and was, soon after, made Serjeant Major of the Regiment, a Post, at that Time, next to the Lieutenant Colonel. But Count *Meldritch*, a *Transilvanian* Nobleman by Birth, afterwards passed with his Regiment, out of the Imperial Service, into that of his natural Prince, *Sigismund Bathori*, Duke of *Transilvania*. And here, endeavouring to recover some patrimonial Lordships, then in the Possession of the *Turk*, he laid Siege to a strong Town, chiefly inhabited by Renegados and Banditti. Whilst their Works were advancing slowly, and with great Difficulty, a *Turkish* Officer issued forth of the Town, and challenged any Christian, of the Dignity of a Captain, to a single Combat. Many were eager of the Honour of humbling this

this haughty Muffelman ; but it was at last decided, by Lot, in Favour of Captain *Smith*. Accordingly, the Ramparts of the Town being filled with fair Dames and Men in Arms, and the Christian Army drawn up in Battalia, the Combatants entered the Field, well mounted and richly armed, to the Sound of Hautboys and Trumpets ; where, at the first Encounter, *Smith* bore the *Turk* dead to the Ground, and went off triumphantly with his Head. But the Infidel Garrison being enraged at this, he afterwards engaged two other Officers ; and being a great Master of his Arms, and the Management of his Horse, he carried off their Heads, in the same Manner. After which, being attended with a Guard of six thousand Men, with the three *Turkish* Horses led before him, and before each a *Turk's* Head upon a Spear, he was conducted to the General's Pavilion ; who received him with open Arms, and presented him with a fine Horse, richly caparisoned, and with a Scimitar and Belt, worth three hundred Ducats. Soon after, the Duke himself, coming to view his Army, gave him his Picture, set in Gold ; settled three hundred Ducats upon him, as a Yearly Pension ; and issued his Letters patent of Noblesse, giving him three *Turks* Heads, in a Shield, for his Arms ; which Coat he ever afterwards bore, and it was admitted and recorded in the Herald's Office in *England*, by Sir *William Segar*, Garter, principal King at Arms.

BUT soon after, the Duke of *Transilvania* was deprived of his Dominions by the Emperor ; and *Smith*, at the fatal Battle of *Rottenton*, in the Year 1602, was left upon the Field, among the dreadful Carnage of Christians, as dead. But the Pillagers, perceiving Life in him, and judging by the Richness of his Habit and Armour, that his Ransom might be considerable, took great Pains to recover him. After that, he was publicly sold, among the other Prisoners ; and was bought by a Bashaw, who sent him to *Constantinople*, as a Present to his Mistress, *Charatza Tragabigzanda*, a beautiful young *Tartarian* Lady. *Smith* was then twenty three Years of Age, in the Bloom of Life, and, as it seems, of a very handsome Person. For this young Lady was so moved with Compassion, or rather Love, for him, that she treated him with the utmost Tenderness and Regard. And to prevent his being ill used, or sold, by her Mother, she sent him into *Tartary*, to her Brother, who was Timor Bashaw of *Nalbrits*, on the *Palus Mæotis*. Here, she intended, he should stay, to learn the Language, together with the Manners and Religion of the *Turks*, till Time should make her Mistress of herself.

BUT

BUT the Bashaw, suspecting something of the Matter, from the affectionate Expressions, with which she recommended and pressed his good Usage, only treated *Smith* with the greater Cruelty and Inhumanity. *Smith's* high Spirit, raised also by a Consciousness of *Tragabigzanda's* Passion, could but ill brook this harsh Treatment. At last, being one Day threshing alone, at a Grange above a League from the House, the Timor came, and took Occasion, so to kick, spurn, and revile him, that forgetting all Reason, *Smith* beat out his Brains, with his threshing Bat. Then reflecting upon his desperate State, he hid the Body under the Straw, filled his Knapfack with Corn, put on the Timor's Cloaths, and mounting his Horse, fled into the Deserts of *Circassia*. After two or three Days fearful Wandering, he happened, providentially, on the Castragan, or great Road, that leads into *Muscovy*. Following this, for sixteen Days, with infinite Dread and Fatigue, he at last arrived at a *Muscovite* Garrison, on the Frontiers. Here he was kindly entertained and presented, as also at all the Places, through which he passed. Having travelled through *Siberia*, *Muscovy*, *Transilvania*, and the Midst of *Europe*, he at length found his old Friend and gracious Patron, the Duke of *Transilvania*, at *Leipsick*, together with Count *Meldritch*, his Colonel. Having spent some time with them, the Duke, at his Departure, gave him a Pass, intimating the Services, he had done, and the Honours, he had received; presenting him, at the same Time, with fifteen hundred Ducats of Gold, to repair his Losses. And altho' he was now intent on returning to his native Country, yet being furnished with this Money, he spent some time, in travelling through the principal Cities and Provinces of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*. From the last, being led by the Rumour of Wars, he passed over into *Africa*, and visited the Court of *Morocco*. Having viewed many of the Places and Curiosities of *Barbary*, he at last returned, through *France*, to *England*; and in his Passage in a *French* Galley, they had a most desperate Engagement, for two or three Days together, with two *Spanish* Men of War. In *England*, all things were still, and in the most profound Peace; so that, there was no Room or Prospect for a Person of his active and warlike Genius. And therefore, having spent some time, in an idle and uneasy State, he willingly embarked himself with Captain *Gosnold*, in the Project of settling Colonies in *America*, and came to *Virginia*.

HIS Conduct here hath been sufficiently related; and I shall finish his Character, with the Testimonies of some of his Soldiers and Fellow-Adventurers. They own him to
have

have made Justice his first Guide, and Experience his second: That he was ever fruitful in Expedients, to provide for the People under his Command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing, he either had, or could procure: That he rather chose to lead, than send his Soldiers into Danger; and upon all hazardous or fatiguing Expeditions, always shared every thing equally with his Company, and never desired any of them, to do or undergo any thing, that he was not ready, to do or undergo himself: That he hated Baseness, Sloth, Pride, and Indignity, more than any Danger: That he would suffer Want, rather than borrow; and starve, sooner than not pay: That he loved Action, more than Words; and hated Falshood and Covetousness, worse than Death: and, That his Adventures gave Life and Subsistency to the Colony, and his Loss was their Ruin and Destruction. They confess, that there were many Captains in that Age (as there are indeed in all Ages) who were no Soldiers; but that Captain *Smith* was a Soldier, of the true old *English* Stamp, who fought, not for Gain or empty Praise, but for his Country's Honour and the publick Good: That his Wit, Courage, and Success here, were worthy of eternal Memory: That by the mere Force of his Virtue and Courage, he awed the *Indian* Kings, and made them submit, and bring Presents: That, notwithstanding such a stern and invincible Resolution, there was seldom seen a milder and more tender Heart, than his was: That he had nothing in him counterfeit or fly, but was open, honest, and sincere: and, That they never knew a Soldier, before him, so free from those military Vices, of Wine, Tobacco, Debts, Dice, and Oaths.

FROM this Account of Captain *Smith*, extracted from his own Writings and the Testimony of his Contemporaries and Acquaintance, it will be easily seen, that he was a Soldier of Fortune, who had run through great Variety of Life and Adventure. And indeed he was so famous for this in his own Age, that he lived to see himself brought upon the Stage, and the chief Dangers, and most interesting Passages of his Life, racked, as he complains, and misrepresented in low Tragedies. I cannot therefore forbear transiently observing *Oldmixon's* Mistake, who says, that the Company took him into their Service, because he was a noted Seaman, and famed for his Experience in maritime Affairs. But to remark all the Errors of our Historians, but most especially of *Oldmixon*, the weakest, most idle, and erroneous of all others, would be an infinite Work, and too often interrupt and break the Thread of my Narration. I hope therefore, the courteous Reader will be satisfied

tified with this short Caution and Animadversion, once for all. For to speak the Truth ingenuously, I had rather find out and correct one Mistake in my own, than expose and ridicule twenty Blunders in the Histories of others. But to return to the Affairs of *Virginia*.

1609.

IT hath been before said, that the Admiral-Ship, with Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captain *Newport* on board, was separated from the rest of the Fleet in a Storm. She was so racked and torn by the violent Working of the Sea, and became so shattered and leaky, that the Water rose in the Hold above two Tires of Hogsheds; and they were obliged to stand up to their Middles, with Kettles, Buckets, and other Vessels, to bail it out. And thus they bailed and pumped, three Days and Nights, without Intermission; and yet the Water seemed rather to gain upon them, than decrease. At last, all being utterly spent with Labour, and seeing no Hope, in Man's Apprehension, but of presently sinking, they resolved to shut up the Hatches, and to commit themselves to the Mercy of the Sea and God's good Providence. In this dangerous and desperate State, some, who had good and comfortable Waters, fetched them, and drank to one another, as taking their last Leaves, till a more happy and joyful Meeting in the other World. But it pleased God, in his most gracious Providence, so to guide their Ship, to her best Advantage, that they were all preserved, and came safe to Shore.

John Smith
President.

FOR Sir *George Somers* had sat, all this Time, upon the Poop, scarce allowing himself Leisure, either to eat or sleep, cunning the Ship, and keeping her upright, or she must, otherwise, long before this, have foundered. As he there sat, looking wishfully about, he most happily and unexpectedly descried Land. This welcome News, as if it had been a Voice from Heaven, hurried them all above Hatches, to see, what they could scarce believe. But thereby, improvidently forsaking their Work, they gave such an Advantage to their greedy Enemy, the Sea, that they were very nigh being swallowed up. But none were now to be urged, to do his best. Altho' they knew it to be *Bermudas*, a Place then dreaded and shunned by all Men, yet they spread all the Sail, and did every thing else, in their Power, to reach the Land. It was not long, before the Ship struck upon a Rock; but a Surge of the Sea cast her from thence, and so from one to another, till she was most luckily thrown up between two, as upright, as if she had been on the Stocks. And now the Danger was, lest the Billows, overtaking her, should, in an Instant, have dashed and shivered her to Pieces. But all on a sudden, the Wind

1609. lay, and gave Place to a Calm; and the Sea became so peaceable and still, that, with the greatest Conveniency and Ease, they unshipped all their Goods, Victuals, and People, and in their Boats, with extreme Joy, almost to Amazement, arrived in Safety, without the Loss of a Man, altho' more than a League from the Shore.

John Smith
President.

How these Islands came by the Name of *Bermudas*, is not certainly agreed. Some say, that they were so named after *John Bermudaz*, a *Spaniard*, who first discovered them, about the Year 1522. Others report, that a *Spanish Ship*, called the *Bermudas*, was cast away upon them, as she was carrying Hogs to the *West-Indies*, which swam ashore, and increased to incredible Numbers. But they had been, in all Times before, infamous and terrible to Mariners, for the Wreck of many *Spanish, Dutch, and French Vessels*. They were therefore, with the usual Elegance of the Sea Stile, by many called the *Isle of Devils*; and were esteemed the Hell or Purgatory of Seamen, the most dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorn Place in the World.

BUT the safe Arrival of this Company was not more strange and providential, than their Feeding and Support was beyond all their Hopes or Expectation. For they found it the richest, pleasanter, and most healthful Place, they had ever seen. Being safe on Shore, they disposed themselves, some to search the Islands for Food and Water, and others to get ashore, what they could, from the Ship. Sir *George Somers* had not ranged far, before he found such a Fishery, that, in half an Hour, he took, with a Hook and Line, as many, as sufficed the whole Company. In some Places, they were so thick in the Coves, and so big, that they were afraid to venture in amongst them; and Sir *George Somers* caught one, that had before carried off two of his Hooks, so large, that it would have pulled him into the Sea, had not his Men got hold of him. Two of those Rock-fish would have loaded a Man; neither could any where be found, fatter, or more excellent Fish, than they were. Besides, there were infinite Numbers of Mulletts, Pilchards, and other small Fry; and by making a Fire in the Night, they would take vast Quantities of large Crawfish. As for Hogs, they found them in that Abundance, that, at their first Hunting, they killed thirty two. And there were likewise Multitudes of excellent Birds, in their Seasons; and the greatest Facility, to make their Cabbins with *Palmeta* Leaves. This caused them to live in such Plenty, Ease, and Comfort, that many forgot all other Places, and never desired to return from thence.

IN the mean while, the Thoughts of the two Knights were busily employed, how to proceed, in this desperate State of their Affairs. At last, it was resolved, to deck the Long-boat with the Ship's Hatches, and to send Mr. *Raven*, a stout and able Mariner, with eight more in her, to *Virginia*; to get Shipping from thence, to fetch them away. But she was never more heard of; and such was the Malice, Envy, and Ambition of some, that, notwithstanding Sir *George Somers's* eminent Services, there arose great Differences between the Commanders. So that, as if, according to the Observation of a *Spanish* Author, the Air of *America* was infectious, and inclined Mens Minds to Wrangling and Contention, they lived asunder, in the Height of this their Calamity, rather like mere Strangers, than distressed Friends. But the several Parties, each resolved upon building a Vessel. In the mean while, two Children were born. The Boy was called *Bermudas*, and the Girl *Bermuda*; and in the Midst of all their Sorrows, they had a merry *English* Wedding. But the two Cedar Ships being, at length, finished, and rigged with what they saved from the *Sea-Venture*, they calked them, and paid the Seams with Lime and Turtle's Oyl, instead of Pitch and Tar; which quickly became dry, and as hard as a Stone. Sir *George Somers* had no Iron in his Bark, except one Bolt in the Keel. And now, their Provisions being laid in, and all Things in Readiness, after about Nine Months Abode there, they set Sail, on the 10th of *May*, 1610. They left behind them two Men, *Christopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*; who, for their Offences, fled into the Woods, and desired, rather there to end their Days, than to stand to the Event of Justice. For one of their Accomplices had been shot to Death, and *Waters* was actually tied to a Tree to be executed; but he had, by Chance, a Knife about him, with which he secretly cut the Rope, and ran into the Woods. There also came from *England* with them two *Indians*, named *Namontack* and *Machumps*. But, upon some Difference, *Machumps* slew *Namontack*; and having made a Hole to bury him, because it was too short, he cut off his Legs, and laid them by him. Neither was the Murder ever discovered, before he got to *Virginia*.

WHILST these Things were passing in *Bermudas*, the Colony in *Virginia* was reduced to the utmost Misery and Distress. Captain *Percy*, their Governor, was so sick and weak the whole Time, that he could neither go nor stand. Wherefore he could not keep up his Authority with such a seditious Crew, nor act with that Vigor and Industry, as

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might justly have been expected from him. Captain *Martin* from *Nansamond*, and Captain *West* from the Falls, having lost their Boats, and near half their Men, were returned to *James-Town*. For the *Indians* no sooner understood, that *Smith* was gone, but they revolted, and spoiled and murdered all, they met. And now they had twenty Presidents, with all their Appurtenances of Parasites and Profusion. They lavishly spent the Provisions, sent from *England* in the last Ships; which, however, were so bad, and so insufficient in Proportion, that the poor famishing People, in the Bitterness of their Heart, poured forth, the whole Time, the most dreadful Curses and Execrations against Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treasurer. And they were therefore soon obliged, to depend wholly, on what Captain *Smith* left; which he had provided, only to serve his own Company for some Time, with Intention, afterwards to lay in a much larger Stock. But before these Provisions were quite consumed, Captain *West* and Captain *Ratcliffe*, each with a small Ship, and thirty or forty Men well appointed, went abroad to trade. *Ratcliffe*, upon Confidence of *Powhatan's* fair Professions, was slain, with thirty others, as careless as himself. Only one Man of the Company escaped; and *Pocahontas* saved a Boy, one *Henry Spilman*, who lived for many Years, by her Means, among the *Patowmack*s. But *Powhatan*, still as he found Opportunity, cut off their Boats, and denied them Trade; so that Captain *West* failed off in his Ship to *England*.

AND now, they were all deeply sensible of the Loss of Captain *Smith*. Even his bitterest Enemies, and greatest Maligners, would curse their Destiny for his Departure. Instead of Corn and Contribution from the *Indians*, which his Industry and Authority still wrested from them, they had nothing but Scoffs and mortal Wounds. And as for their Hogs, Sheep, Goats, Hens, and other Animals, their riotous Commanders, and the *Indians*, daily consumed and destroyed them. So that they traded away their Swords, Firelocks, and any thing else, they had, with the *Indians*; who were thereby enabled, the more easily, often to embroe their cruel Hands in their Blood. Those, who had Startch, made no little Use of it, in this Extremity; and the very Skins of their Horses were prepared, by stewing and hashing, into dainty and welcome Food. Nay, so great was the Famine, that the poorer Sort took up an *Indian*, that had been slain and buried, and eat him; and so did several others, one another, that died, boiled and stewed with Roots and Herbs. And one, among the rest, killed his Wife, powdered her up, and had eaten Part of her,
before

before it was discovered; for which he was, afterwards, deservedly executed. In short, so extremewas the Famine and Distress of this Time, that it was, for many Years after, distinguished and remembered, by the Name of the STARVING TIME. And by these means, of near five hundred Persons, left by Captain *Smith* at his Departure, within six Months, there remained not above sixty, Men, Women, and Children; and those most poor and miserable Creatures, preserved, for the most part, by Roots, Herbs, Acorns, Walnuts, Berries, and now and then a little Fish. Neither was it possible for them, to have held out ten Days longer, without being all utterly extinct and famished with Hunger.

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IN this calamitous State, did Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Somers* find the Colony, at their Arrival, on the 24th of *May*. These two noble Knights, being utter Strangers to their Affairs, could understand nothing of the Cause and Reason of these Miseries, but by Conjecture from their Clamours and Complaints, either accusing, or excusing one another. They therefore embarked them all, in the best manner, they could, and set Sail for *England*. At their Departure, many were importunate to burn the Houses and Fort at *James-Town*. But God, who did not intend, that this excellent Country should be so abandoned, put it into the Heart of Sir *Thomas Gates*, to save the Town and Fortifications. For having fallen down to *Hog-Island*, and thence to *Mulberry-Point*, they descried the Long-boat of the Lord *Delawarr*; who, being then Captain-General of *Virginia*, a Title ever after given to our Governors in chief, came up with three Ships, exceedingly well furnished with all Necessaries, and returned them back to *James-Town*.

Sir *Thomas*
Gates, Go-
vernor.

HIS Lordship arrived the 9th of *June*, accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Waynman*, General of the Horse, (who soon after died here) Captain *Holcroft*, and divers other Gentlemen of Figure. The 10th he came up with his Fleet, went ashore, heard a Sermon, read his Commission, and entered into Consultation about the Affairs of the Colony. Then he made a short Speech to the Company, justly blaming them for their Pride, Vanity, and Sloth, and earnestly entreating them to amend their Ways, lest he should be compelled to draw the Sword of Justice, and cut off such Delinquents; which, he professed, he had much rather draw, to the shedding his own vital Blood, in their Cause and Defence. He also constituted proper Officers of all Kinds, and allotted every Man his particular Place and Business. This Oration was received with a general Applause; and you might soon see the idle and resty Humours of a divided Multitude, by the Splendor, Unity, and Authority of

Lord *Delawarr*, Go-
vernor.

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 Lord Dela-
 warr, Go-
 vernor.

this Government, substantially healed. Captain *Martin* was removed from the Council, for his weak, cruel, and disorderly Behaviour; and those, who knew not the Path to Goodness before, would now chalk it out to their Fellows, endeavouring to outstrip each other in Diligence and Industry. The *French* prepared to plant the Vines; the *English* laboured in the Woods and Grounds; and every Man knew his particular Business and Vocation, which he followed with Alacrity and Pleasure.

BUT altho' his Lordship's Stores were very plentiful for his own Company, yet were they far from being enough to suffice the whole Colony. For it was computed, that all the Provision, landed from *England*, the whole first three Years, was not sufficient to have served the People, according to their Numbers, six Months. Understanding therefore, what Plenty there was of Hogs and other good Provisions in *Bermudas*, he determined to send thither for a sufficient Supply. Whereupon Sir *George Somers*, who, by his Diligence in ranging those Islands, was best acquainted with the Place, and whose generous Mind ever regarded the publick Good, more than his own private Ends, altho' of above threescore Years of Age, and of a Fortune in *England* suitable to his Rank and Quality, yet offered his Service to perform this dangerous Voyage to those rocky and unfortunate Islands; and he promised with God's Assistance, soon to return, with six Months Provision of Flesh. On the 19th of *June*, he embarked, in his own Cedar Vessel, of thirty Tons; and Captain *Samuel Argall* was also sent with him, in another small Bark. But Captain *Argall* was soon forced back, by Strefs of Weather; and was sent, by the Lord Governor, to *Patowmack* River, to trade for Corn. He there found the *English* Boy, *Henry Spilman*, preserved by *Pocahontas* and those *Indians*, from the Fury of *Powhatan*. He was a young Gentleman, well descended; and, by his Acquaintance and Help, Captain *Argall* received such good Usage from that kind People, that his Vessel was soon freighted with Corn, with which he returned to *James-Town*. But Sir *George Somers* struggled long with foul Weather and contrary Winds; and was at last forced to the Northern Parts of the Continent, where he refreshed himself and his Men on the unknown Coast. But departing thence again, he at length arrived safe at *Bermudas*. Using too much Diligence and Pains in dispatching his Business, and the Strength of his Body not answering the ever memorable Vigor of his Mind, having lived long in honourable Employments, much beloved, and highly esteemed, thro' his whole Life, Nature at last could no longer support the Burthen,

Burthen, but sunk under his too great Labour and Fatigue. Finding his Time but short, after having made a proper Disposition of his Estate, he called them together, and like a valiant Captain and worthy Patriot, exhorted them to be true and constant to those Plantations, and with all Expedition and Diligence, to return to *Virginia*.

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warr, Go-
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THUS died this virtuous and honourable Knight, in the very Place, where they afterwards built a Town, from him called *St. Georges*; and the Islands themselves have ever since borne the Name of the *Somer-Islands*, in Honour to his Memory. But Captain *Matthew Somers*, his Nephew, and all his Men, were in such Grief and Consternation at his Death, and were so heedless and unconcerned for the Colony, that they utterly neglected his dying Instructions, to return to *Virginia*. For having buried his Heart and Entrails, and erected a Cross over the Place; they embalmed his Body, and set Sail with it, in his Cedar Ship, for *England*. Arriving safe at *Whitchurch* in *Dorsetshire*, he was there honourably enterred, with many Volleys of Shot, and the Rites of a Soldier. But the Cross was accidentally found, nine Years after, in a Bye-place, overgrown with Bushes, by Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, then Governor of those Islands. Resolving to have a better Memorial of so worthy a Soldier, and finding a large Marble Stone, brought from *England*, he caused it to be handsomely wrought by Masons, and laid over the Place; engraving an Epitaph, agreeable to the Taste and Manner of the Times, and environing the whole with a square Wall of hewn Stone. But I understand, that this Monument is now utterly obliterated, and the Place quite forgot and unknown in that Country.

UPON this Occasion, there also happened a very humorous Circumstance. *Carter* and *Waters* had been left here, when the rest went to *Virginia*, as hath been said. And now, by *Carter's* Persuasions, *Waters* was still staid, and one *Edward Chard* joined himself to them. This Vessel once out of Sight, these three Lords and sole Inhabitants of all those Islands, began to erect their little Commonwealth, with equal Power and brotherly Regency, building a House, preparing the Ground, planting their Corn, and such Seeds and Fruits, as they had, and providing other Necessaries and Conveniences. Then making Search among the Crevices and Corners of those craggy Rocks, what the Ocean, from the World's Creation, had thrown up among them, besides divers smaller Pieces, they happened upon the largest Block of Ambergrease, that had ever been seen or heard of, in one Lump. It weighed four-

1610. fourſcore Pounds ; and is ſaid, itſelf alone, beſides the others, to have been then worth nine or ten thouſand Pounds. And now being rich, they grew ſo reſty and ambitious, that theſe three forlorn Men, above three thouſand Miles from their native Country, and with little Probability of ever ſeeing it again, ſell out for the Superiority and Rule. And their Competition and Quarrel grew ſo high, that *Chard* and *Waters*, being of the greateſt Spirit, had appointed to decide the Matter in the Field. But *Carter* wiſely ſtole their Arms ; chuſing rather, to bear with ſuch troubleſome Rivals, than, by being rid of them, to live alone. So doubtful a Good are Riches, and ſo prepoſterous a Thing the Mind of Man !

Lord Delawarr, Governor.

IN the mean while, the Lord *Delawarr*, in *Virginia*, built two Forts at *Kicquotan* ; and called one, *Fort Henry*, the other, *Fort Charles*. They ſtood on a pleaſant Plain, near a little River, which they named *Southampton* River, in a wholeſome Air, having plenty of Springs, and commanding a large Circuit of Ground, which contained Wood, Paſture, and Maſh, with fit places for Vines, Corn, and Gardens. Here it was intended, that thoſe, who came from *England*, ſhould be quartered at their firſt Landing, that the Wearifomeſs and Nauſea of the Sea might be reſreſhed, in this pleaſant Situation, and wholeſome Air. Sir *Thomas Gates* he ſent to *England* ; and Captain *Percy*, with Mr. *Stacy* and fifty or threſcore good Shot, was diſpatched to revenge ſome Injuries of the *Pappaheys*. But thoſe *Indians* flying, they burnt their Houſes, and took the Queen and her Children Priſoners, whom not long after they ſlew. So much was the Government already altered from the Clemency of *Smith's* Adminiſtration, who never did, nor would have been permitted, to ſhed the leaſt Drop of *Indian* Blood, by Way of Punishment ; but was obliged to ſupply the Want of ſufficient Vigor and Power in his Authority, by his own Activity, Induſtry, Art, and Circumſpection.

SOME time after, as my Lord *Delawarr* was at the Falls, the *Indians* aſſaulted his Troops, and killed three or four of his Men. But his Lordſhip had now been long ſick. Immediately upon his Arrival, he was ſeized with an Ague, which, being put by for the preſent, ſoon returned with greater Violence than ever ; and he began to be diſtempered with other grievous Sickneſſes. He was firſt aſſailed by the Flux, then by the Cramp, and after that by the Gout ; all which reduced him to ſo weak and low a State, that, being unable to ſtir, it brought upon him the Scurvy. Therefore, by the Advice of his Friends, on the 28th of

March,

March, he shipped himself, with Dr. *Bobun* and Captain *Argall*, for *Mevis*, in the *West-Indies*, an Island, at that time, famous for wholesome Baths. At his Departure, he committed the Colony to the Charge of Captain *Percy*, 'till the Arrival of Sir *Thomas Dale*. And he left behind about two hundred Persons, most of them in good Health, and well provided with Victuals, and the Natives, to all outward Appearance, tractable and friendly. But being crossed by *Southerly* Winds, they were obliged to shape their Course to the *Western-Islands*; where his Lordship met with much Relief from Oranges and Lemons, a sovereign Remedy for that Disorder. However he was advised, not to hazard himself back to *Virginia* yet, but to return to *England*, for the perfect Recovery of his Health.

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George Percy
Esq; Gover-
nor.

THE Council in *England* were, all this while, still eager after some immediate Profit. Therefore, finding the Smalness of the Return by those Ships, which had carried the last Supply, they entered into serious Consultation, whether it were better, to come into a new Contribution, or in time to abandon the Country, and give over the Enterprize. Wherefore, upon the Arrival of Sir *Thomas Gates*, they adjured him to deal plainly with them; and he, with a solemn and sacred Oath, gave them a full Account of the State and Prospect of Things. And he told them, that all Men knew, they lay at the Mercy of politic Princes and States; who, for their own proper Utility, devised all Methods to grind their Merchants, and, on any Pretence, to confiscate their Goods, and draw from them all Manner of Gain; whereas *Virginia*, in a few Years, might furnish all their Wants, with Honour and Security. But, by this time, some of the Adventurers were become suspicious of the Treasurer's Fairness in the Carriage and Management of the Business. To which the Lord *Delawarr's* Return added a farther Damp and Discouragement, and bred such a Coldness and Irresolution in many of them, that they endeavoured to withdraw their Payments. Being sued, some pleaded in Chancery, upon their Oaths, that the Monies were not converted to the Use intended, but to private Mens Gains; and that no Accounts were kept, or at least legally audited and examined. But this was overruled, and no ways regarded or believed; and Sir *Thomas Smith's* Integrity was then thought so unquestionable, that they were obliged to pay their Sums subscribed. The Lord *Delawarr* also, being much pleased with the Country, and cordial in the Affair, made a publick Oration in the Council; which he afterwards published, to allay their Discontents, and give Satisfaction to all. And his Lordship protested himself wil-

1611. ling, to venture his whole Fortune upon the Success of the Enterprize; and rather than so honourable an Action should fail, to return immediately in Person, if they would but second his Endeavours.

Sir Thomas Dale, Governor.

BUT before the Arrival of Lord *Delawarr* in *England*, the Council and Company had dispatched away Sir *Thomas Dale*, High Marshal of *Virginia*, with three Ships, Men, and Cattle, and with all other Provisions, thought necessary for a Year; which arrived safe, the 10th of *May*, 1611. Sir *Thomas* found the People again falling into their former Estate of Penury and Want. For they were so improvident, as not to put Corn into the Ground, but trusted wholly to the Store, then furnished with only three Months Provisions. His first Care, therefore, was to employ all Hands in planting Corn at the two Forts at *Kicquotan*; and the Season being then not fully past, they had an indifferent Crop of good Corn. And having taken Order for this Business, and committed the Care of it to his Under-Officers, he hastened back to *James-Town*; where he found most of the Company, at their daily and usual Work, bowling in the Streets. But he soon employed them about things more necessary; as felling Timber, and repairing their Houses, ready to fall on their Heads. He likewise set many to providing Pales, Posts, and Rails, to empale the new Town, he purposed to build; but being yet unacquainted with the Country, he had not resolved, where to seat it. He therefore spent some time, with an hundred Men, in viewing the River of *Nansamond*, in Despight of the *Indians*, at that time their Enemies. And then he examined *James River*, up to the Falls; and at length pitched upon a Place for his new Town, on the Narrow of *Farrar's Island*, in *Varina Neck*, upon a high Land, nearly invironed by the main River.

BUT he found it no easy Matter, to reduce his turbulent and seditious People to good Order. About this time, Sir *Thomas Smith* sent over a printed Book of Articles and Laws, chiefly translated from the martial Laws of the *Low Countries*. These were very bloody and severe, and no ways agreeable to a free People and the *British* Constitution; neither had they any Sanction or Authority from the Council and Company in *England*. However, Sir *Thomas Dale*, being sadly troubled and pestered with the mutinous Humours of the People, caused them to be published, and put into Execution with the utmost Rigor. And altho' the Manner was harsh and unusual to *Englishman*, yet had not these military Laws been so strictly executed at this time, there were little Hopes or Probability of preventing the utter

ter Subversion of the Colony. For, this Summer, one *Webb* and one *Price* entered into a Plot against the Government; which was, soon after, followed by a more dangerous Conspiracy of *Jeffrey Abbot*. This *Abbot* had served long as a Soldier, both in *Ireland* and the *Netherlands*, and was here Serjeant of Captain *Smith's* Company; who declares, that he never knew in *Virginia*, a more able Soldier, less turbulent, of a better Wit, more hardy and industrious, or more forward to cut off those, who endeavoured to abandon the Country, or wrong the Colony. But from what Cause soever his Discontents arose, whether he resented his being neglected and unrewarded, and having others put over his Head and preferred before him, or whether there was any other Reason of his Dissatisfaction, it is certain, that this Man, who never received any Reward for his long Services and Deserts, now met with an immediate Punishment for this sudden and passionate Deviation from his Duty. One *Cole* also, and *Kitchens*, with three more, plotted to run away to the *Spaniards*, whom they supposed, from some wrong Information, to be inhabiting, some where within five Days Journey of the Fort. And these Commotions justified Sir *Thomas Dale's* necessary Severities, which might otherwise have been branded, as many were then ready to do, with being too cruel and tyrannical. But however salutary such sharp and summary Proceedings might be at that time, as I find them owned to have been, and commended by all Parties; and however Sir *Thomas Dale* might safely be trusted with so great a Power, a Man of much Honour, Wisdom, and Experience; yet it is certain, that these Articles were utterly destructive of the *English* Freedom and Laws, and gave the Governor such a commanding and despotick Authority, as is, by no means, to be lodged in any Hand, in a Country, that has the least Thoughts or Pretensions to Liberty.

IN the Beginning of *August*, Sir *Thomas Gates* arrived in six tall Ships, with three hundred Men, an hundred Cattle, two hundred Hogs, and with all Manner of other Munition and Provision, that could be thought of, as needful and proper. At his Arrival, Sir *Thomas Dale's* Authority determined, who, after mutual Salutations, acquainted him with what he had done, and what he intended. And now, being eased of the Burthen of Government, and more at Leisure, he set himself heartily about building his Town; and Sir *Thomas Gates*, highly approving the Design, furnished him with three hundred and fifty Men, such as he himself made Choice of. He set Sail from *James-Town*, the Beginning of *September*; and being arrived at the Place,

1611.

Sir *Thomas Dale*, Governor.

Sir *Thomas Gates* Governor.

1611. he environed it with a Palifade, and in Honour of Prince Henry, called it *Henrico*. And then he built a Church, and Storehouses; and at each Corner of the Town, high commanding Watch Towers. This being accomplished, he next provided proper and convenient Houses for himself and Men, which were finished with all possible Speed, to the great Comfort and Satisfaction of his Company and the whole Colony.

Sir Thomas
Gates, Go-
vernor.

THE Ruins of this Town are still plainly to be traced and distinguished, upon the Land of the late Col. *William Randolph*, of *Tuckahoe*, just without the Entrance into *Farrar's* Island. It lay from River to River, upon a Plain of high Land, with very steep and inaccessible Banks, and the Neck without, being well empaled, gave it all the Security and Conveniency of an Island. It had three Streets of well-framed Houses, a handsome Church, and the Foundation of another laid, to be built of Brick, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and other publick Conveniences. Upon the Verge of the River Bank, stood five Houses, inhabited by the better Sort of People, who kept continual Sentinel for the Town's Security. About two Miles from the Town, into the Main, he run another Palifade, from River to River, near two Miles in Length, guarded with several Forts, with a large Quantity of Corn-ground empaled and sufficiently secured. Besides these Precautions, there may still be seen, upon the River Bank within the Island, the Ruins of a great Ditch, now over-grown with large and stately Trees; which, it may be supposed, was defended with a Palifade, to prevent a Surprise on that Side, by crossing the River. And for a still further Security to the Town, he intended, but never quite finished, a Palifade on the South Side of the River, as a Range for their Hogs; and he called it *Hope in Faith and Coxendale*. It was about two Miles and an half long, and was secured by five of their Manner of Forts, called *Charity Fort*, *Elisabeth Fort*, *Fort Patience*, and *Mount Malady*, with a Guest House for sick People, upon a high and dry Situation, and in a wholesome Air, in the Place, where *Jefferson's* Church now stands. On the same Side of the River also, Mr. *Whitaker*, their Preacher, chose to be seated; and he empaled a fair Parsonage, with an hundred Acres of Land, calling it *Rock-hall*.

ABOUT *Christmas*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, to revenge some Injuries of the *Appamattock Indians*, assaulted and took their Town, without the Loss of a Man. This Town stood at the Mouth of the River, and was accounted but five Miles, by Land, from *Henrico*. And Sir *Thomas*, considering how convenient it would be to the *English*, resolved to possess and

and seat it, and, at the Instant, called it *New Bermudas*. And he annexed, to the belonging Freedom and Corporation for ever, many Miles of champion and wood-land Ground, in several Hundreds, by the Names of the *Upper and Nether Hundreds, Rochdale* (now called *Rocksdale*) *Hundred, Shirley Hundred, and Digges's Hundred*. At *Bermudas*, where was the most Corn-ground, he first began to plant; and with a Pale of two Miles, across from River to River, he enclosed and secured eight *English* Miles in Compass. Upon this Circuit, there were soon built many fair Houses, to near the Number of fifty. *Rocksdale* was also enclosed with a cross Palisade, near four Miles in Length; and there were many Houses, planted along the Pale, within which their Hogs and Cattle had twenty Miles Circuit to graze in securely.

1611.
Sir Thomas
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vernor.

IT will not be thought, I believe, foreign to the History of *Virginia*, occasionally to interperse some Account of the Fortunes of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, our Founder, and the first Author, to the *English*, of settling Colonies in *America*. Just before the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, he received a Challenge, upon some Quarrel, from Sir *Amias Preston*, one of *Essex's* Followers, and a Man of the Sword; which however was made up, by the Mediation of a certain great Nobleman, before it came to the last Decision. But on this Occasion, Sir *Walter*, like a prudent and affectionate Father of a Family, had conveyed all his landed Estate, which consisted of about three thousand Pounds a Year, to his Wife and Son. This was fortunately a Bar to his Lands falling absolutely to the Crown, upon his Attainder. They were only forfeited for his own Life; and the King, upon some powerful Intercession, restored them to him again. So that he lived, under his Confinement, with much Elegancy, Neatness, and Affluence. For he was naturally a great Lover of Propriety; and had been, in the Time of his Prosperity, both in his Dress and Equipage, one of the most sumptuous and polite Persons of the Age. And now, being cut off from all the active Parts of Life, he indulged and gave a Loose to his noble Genius, and natural Thirst of Knowledge; and seemed (to use Prince *Henry's* Allusion) a singing Bird in a Cage; rather a Philosopher, than a Captive; a Student in a Library, than a Prisoner in the Tower. The Restraint of his Body was so far from damping and confining his native Greatness of Mind and Sublimity of Parts, that it only opened a new Field of Glory to him, and rendered him as illustrious, in this still and sedentary Scene of Life, as he had before been, in his most active and prosperous Days. But at last, the Lawyers pretended to find

1611. find some Flaw in the Conveyance of his Lands; and an Information was exhibited against him, in the Court of Exchequer. His chief Judge, we are told, was his greatest Enemy; which, I suppose, was Sir *Edward Coke*, then Lord Chief Justice. For that famous Lawyer, notwithstanding his vast Abilities and Knowledge in the Common Law, will be branded to all Futurity, for bawling and railing Sir *Walter Raleigh* out of his Life at his Trial. And *Wilson*, a contemporary Historian, tells us, that it was popularly objected to him, as a Judge; That he made the Law lean too much to his own Opinion, thereby becoming a legal Tyrant, and striking, whom he pleased, with that Weapon, whose Edge he was able to turn any Way. When the Cause came to Trial, it was determined against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, only for the Want of one single Word in his Answer, setting forth that Conveyance; which was nevertheless an Oversight of the Clerk, and the Word was in the original Instrument. And thus was he most iniquitously deprived of his Lands; and upon Lady *Raleigh's* passionate Application to the King, she could obtain no other Answer from him, but *I mun have the Land, I mun have it for Car*. It was accordingly conferred upon that Favourite, just then in his Rise; and Sir *Walter* wrote him a Letter upon the Occasion, which may be seen in his Life, by Mr. *Oldys*; and which may be placed, perhaps, among the most beautiful, wise, and pathetic Compositions, that ever has appeared of that Kind. So invariable was this Monarch in his wrong Judgment of Men and Things, as to aggrandize and enrich so insignificant a Tool, and one so infamously wicked, lewd, and insufficient, as *Car*, with the Spoils of a Person, so truly virtuous, great, and able, as Sir *Walter Raleigh*. As if Fortune had conspired to expose his Weakness, and render his Injustice the more conspicuous and remarkable, by the Contrast between the Man, he oppressed, and the Man, he advanced. However, as some Retaliation for the Injustice and Wrong, his Majesty afterwards gave Lady *Raleigh* and her Son eight Thousand Pounds for the Estate.

1612. CAPTAIN *Matthew Somers* and his Company, at their Return to *England* with Sir *George's* Body, had made very advantageous Relations of *Bermudas*. But these were little credited at first, and looked upon, as mere Traveller's Tales; till some of the *Virginia* Company apprehended, that a Settlement there might be very beneficial and helpful to the Plantation in *Virginia*. But as by their former Letters-patent, they were only entitled to the Islands within an hundred Miles of their Coast, and as *Bermudas* lay much beyond

beyond that Distance, they procured a new Charter from his Majesty, bearing Date *March 12, 1611-12*. This granted them all the Islands in the Ocean Seas, within three hundred Leagues of the Coast; between the one and fortieth and thirtieth Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude. It also gave them a Power, to set up Lotteries; to sue for the Monies subscribed, requiring the Judges, to favour and further the said Suits, so far forth, as Law and Equity would, in any wise, further and permit; together with other ample Privileges and Authorities, as may be more fully seen in the Charter at large, printed in the Appendix. But the *Virginia* Company sold these Islands to about an hundred and twenty of their own Members, who were erected into a distinct Society and Body Corporate, by the Name of the *Somer-Islands* Company. Sir *Thomas Smith* was elected their Treasurer, or Governor, in *England*; and some time this Year 1612, Mr. *Richard More* was sent Governor of the Country, with sixty Men, to make a Settlement and Plantation. They found the three Men, before spoken of, lusty and well. They were very comfortably seated, and plentifully stored with divers Sorts of excellent Provisions. But under Colour, that they were fitted out, at the Charge, and in the Service of the Company, these three poor Men were prosecuted, tormented, and threatned by the Governor, in the Company's Name, 'till they were entirely deprived of their great Treasure of Ambergrease. However a great Part was embezzled by Captain *Davies* and Mr. *Edwin Kendal*, to whom they committed it, during the Squabble and Contention. So that not above a Third came into the Hands of the Company; for which, we are told, they afterwards compounded with the Finders, and made them a just and reasonable Satisfaction.

IN the Beginning of the same Year, two Ships arrived in *Virginia*, with a Supply of Provisions and fourscore Men. But these Provisions, according to Custom, were very scanty and insufficient; and therefore Capt. *Argall*, who commanded one of the Ships, having recreated and refreshed his Company, was sent to *Patowmack* River, to trade for Corn. For the *Indians* about *James-Town* were in a ticklish State, and little to be depended upon; being Friends or Foes, according as they found Advantage and Opportunity. Captain *Argall* soon entered into a great Acquaintance and Friendship with *Japazaws*, King of *Patowmack*, an old Friend to Captain *Smith*, and so to the whole *English* Nation, ever since the first Discovery of the Country. Hard by *Patowmack*, *Pocahontas* lay concealed, thinking herself safe, and unknown to all but trusty Friends. What was the Reason

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of her absconding from *Werowocomoco*, cannot easily be judged; except it was to withdraw herself from being a Witness to the frequent Butcheries of the *English*, whose Folly and Rashness, after *Smith's* Departure, put it out of her Power to save them. Captain *Argall*, having got Intelligence of this, engaged to give *Japazaws* a Copper Kettle, to bring her on board his Ship; promising not to hurt her, but to keep her safe, 'till they could conclude a Peace with her Father. This Savage would have done any thing for the Copper Kettle; and therefore, having no Pretence on Account of her own Curiosity, because she had seen and been in many Ships, he made his Wife pretend, how desirous she was to see one, so that he offered to beat her for her Importunity, 'till she wept. But at last he told her, if *Pocahontas* would go with her, he was content. And thus, taking Advantage of her Good-nature and obliging Temper, they betrayed this innocent Creature aboard; where they were all kindly received and entertained in the Cabbin. The Captain, when he saw his Time, decoy'd *Pocahontas* into the Gun Room; only to conceal from her, that *Japazaws* was any way guilty of her Captivity. When he had received his Reward, the Captain sent for her again; and told her, she must go with him, and be the Means and Instrument of Peace, between her Country and the *English*. At this, the old Traitor and his Wife began to howl and cry, as much as *Pocahontas*; who, by the Captain's fair Promises and Persuasions, pacified herself, by degrees. And so *Japazaws* and his Wife, with their Kettle and other Baubles, went joyfully ashore, and she to *James-Town*; where, altho' a frequent Visitant before, and often a kind Support and Preserver of the Colony, she had never been 'till now, since Captain *Smith* left the Country.

A Messenger was immediately dispatched to her Father; that he must ransom his Daughter *Pocahontas*, whom he loved so dearly, with the Men, Guns, and Tools of the *English*, which he had treacherously stolen and surpris'd. This unwelcome News much troubled *Powhatan*, because he loved both his Daughter and their Commodities well; and it threw him into such Perplexity, that it was three Months, before he returned any Answer. Then he sent back seven of the *English*, with each an unserviceable Musket; and sent Word, that when they should deliver his Daughter, he would make full Satisfaction for all Injuries, and give them five hundred Bushels of Corn, and would be their Friend for ever. But the *English* answered; That his Daughter should be well used; but that they could not believe, the rest of their Arms were either lost, or stolen from

from him; and that therefore, they would keep his Daughter, till he had sent them all back. But this Answer displeased him so much, that they heard no more from him, for a long time after.

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AT last, in the Beginning of the next Year, Sir *Thomas Dale* took *Pocahontas* with him, and went in Captain *Argall's* Ship, with some other Vessels belonging to the Colony, up into his own River, to his chief Habitation at *Werowocomoco*, with a Party of an hundred and fifty Men, well appointed. *Powhatan* did not appear; and although the *English* told them, their Business was to deliver up their Emperor's Daughter, upon Restitution of the rest of their Men and Arms, yet were they received with many scornful Bravades and Threats. They told them, if they came to fight, they were welcome; but advised them, as they loved their Lives, to retire; or else they would treat them, as they had done Captain *Ratcliffe*. But after some small Skirmishes, and considerable Damage done the *Indians*, by burning their Houses, and spoiling all, they could find, a Peace was patched up. They immediately sent Messengers to *Powhatan*; and they told the *English*, that their Men were run off, for fear they should hang them; but that *Powhatan's* Men were run after, to bring them back; and that their Swords and Muskets should be brought, the next Day. But the *English*, perceiving, that this was all Collusion, only to delay the Time, till they could carry off their Goods and Provisions, told them, that they should have a Truce, till the next Day at Noon; but then, if they had not a direct Answer to their Demands, or found them inclinable to fight, they should know, when the *English* would begin, by the Sound of their Drums and Trumpets. Upon Confidence of this Truce, two of *Powhatan's* Sons came on board the Ship, to see their Sister; on whose Sight, finding her well, although they had heard the contrary, they greatly rejoiced; and they promised to persuade their Father, to redeem her, and for ever be Friends with the *English*. Hereupon Mr. *John Rolfe* and Mr. *Sparks* were sent to *Powhatan*, to acquaint him with the Business. They were kindly received and entertained, but not admitted into the Presence of the Emperor. They only spoke with *Opechancanough*, who promised to do his utmost with his Brother, to incline him to Peace and Friendship. But it now being *April*, and Time to prepare their Ground, and set their Corn, they returned to *James-Town*, without doing any thing more in the Affair.

LONG before this, Mr. *John Rolfe*, a worthy young Gentleman, and of good Behaviour, had been in Love with

1613. Pocahontas, and she with him. And at this time, he made the thing known to Sir *Thomas Dale*, through Mr. *Ralph Hamer*, and wrote him a Letter, entreating his Advice; and she likewise acquainted her Brother with it. Sir *Thomas Dale* highly approved of it; and the Report of this Marriage soon coming to the Knowledge of *Powhatan*, it was found a thing acceptable to him, by his sudden Consent. For within ten Days, he sent *Opachisco*, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his Sons, to see the Manner of the Marriage, and to do in that Behalf, what they were required, for the Confirmation of it, as his Deputies. It was therefore solemnised in the Beginning of *April* 1613; and ever after, they had friendly Trade and Commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himself, as with all his Subjects.

Sir Thomas
Gates, Go-
vernor.

THE *Chickahominies* were a stout, daring, and free People. They had no Werowance, or single Ruler, but were governed, in a Republican Form, by their Elders. These were their Priests, and some of the wisest of their old Men, as Assistants to them. In Consequence of these Principles of Government, they took all Opportunities of shaking off *Powhatan's* Yoke, whom they looked upon and hated, as a Tyrant. And therefore, they had taken Advantage of these late Times of Hostility and Danger as well to the *Indians*, as to the *English*, to assert their Liberty. But now, seeing *Powhatan* so closely linked with the *English*, both in Affinity and Friendship, they were in great Concern and Dread, lest he should bring them again to his Subjection. To prevent which, they sent Ambassadors to Sir *Thomas Dale*; excusing all former Injuries, and promising ever after to be King *James's* faithful Subjects: That they would relinquish the Name of *Chickahominies*, and be called *Tassauteffus*, or *Englishmen*, and that Sir *Thomas Dale* should be their Governor, as the King's Deputy. Only they desired to be governed by their own Laws, under their eight Elders, as his Substitutes. Sir *Thomas Dale*, hoping for some Advantage from this, willingly accepted their Offer. At the Day appointed, with Captain *Argall* and fifty Men, he went to *Chickahominy*; where he found the People assembled, expecting his Coming. They treated him kindly; and the next Morning, having held a Council, the Peace was concluded on these Conditions:

I. THAT they should for ever be called *Englishmen*, and be true Subjects to King *James* and his Deputies:

II. THAT they should neither kill, nor detain, any of the *English*, or of their Cattle, but should bring them home:

III. THAT

III. THAT they should be always ready, to furnish the *English* with three hundred Men, against the *Spaniards*, or any other Enemy :

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IV. THAT they should not enter any of the *English* Towns, before sending in Word, that they were new *Englishmen* :

V. THAT every fighting Man, at gathering their Corn, should bring two Bushels to the Store, as a Tribute ; for which he should receive as many Hatchets :

VI. THAT the eight chief Men should see all this performed, or receive the Punishment themselves ; and for their Diligence, they should have a red Coat, a Copper Chain, and King *James's* Picture, and be accounted his Nobleman.

THESE Articles were joyfully assented to and ratified, by a great Shout and Acclamation ; and one of their Elders began an Oration, addressing his Speech, first to the old Men, then to the Young, and then to the Women and Children, to make them understand, how strictly they were to observe these Conditions, and that then the *English* would defend them from the Fury of *Powhatan*, or any other Enemy whatsoever. And thus was their Liberty once more secured ; which indeed had its usual good Effects, even among these wild and savage Nations. For altho' *Chickahominy* is far from being famous for good Land, yet we are told, that they had the largest Fields, and most plentiful Crops of Corn, and the greatest Abundance of all other Provisions and Necessaries, of any People then in the Country. Such a happy Influence had Liberty, and such visible Incitement did firm Property give to the Industry of even that lazy and improvident People.

AND now the *English* began to find the Mistake of forbidding and preventing private Property. For whilst they all laboured jointly together, and were fed out of the common Store, happy was he, that could slip from his Labour, or slubber over his Work in any Manner. Neither had they any Concern about the Increase ; presuming, however the Crop prospered, that the publick Store must still maintain them. Even the most honest and industrious would scarcely take so much true Pains in a Week, as they would have done for themselves in a Day. The five Years also, prescribed in his Majesty's Instructions under the Privy Seal, for trading all together in common Stocks, and bringing the whole Fruit of their Labours into common Store-houses, were now expired. Therefore, to prevent this Inconveniency and bad Consequence, Sir *Thomas Dale* allotted

1613. each Man three Acres of cleared Ground, in the Nature of Farms. They were to work eleven Months for the Store, and had two Bushels of Corn from thence; and only had one Month allowed them, to make the rest of their Provisions. This was certainly very hard and pinching; but his new and favourite Settlement at *Bermudas Hundred* had better Conditions. For one Month's Labour, which must neither be in Seed-time nor Harvest, they were exempted from all further Service; and for this Exemption they only paid two Barrels and a half of Corn, as a Yearly Tribute to the Store. However, the Prospect of these Farmers Labours gave the Colony much Content; and they were no longer in Fear of wanting, either for themselves, or to entertain their new Supplies.

Sir Thomas
Gates, Governor.

SIR *Thomas Dale* had been very active and industrious in ranging about and viewing the Country, and was vastly delighted with its Pleasantness and Fertility. Being therefore much vexed and concerned, to find the Possession of so noble a Territory set so light by at home, as even sometimes to be debated, whether it should be farther prosecuted, or entirely abandoned, he wrote a Letter to Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treasurer; wherein he assures them all, and prays them to remember it, that if they should give over the Enterprize, and lose the Country, they would, in their great Wisdom, commit an Error of such Prejudice and Damage to *England*, as had never happened to it, since the Loss of the Kingdom of *France*. He desires them not to be gulled and deceived, by the clamorous Reports of base People, but to believe *Caleb* and *Joshua*. And if the Glory of God, and the Conversion of those poor Infidels, had no Influence on the rich Mammons of the Earth; yet he advises them to follow the Dictates of their own Avarice, and only to consult their proper Interest and Advantage. For he protests on the Faith of an honest Man, that the more he ranged and saw of the Country, the more he admired it; and that having seen the best Parts of *Europe*, yet he declares, with a solemn Affelevation, that put them all together, he thought, this Country would be equivalent to them, if it were once well cultivated, and seated with good and industrious People.

1614. EARLY in the next Year, Sir *Thomas Gates* returned to *England*, and left the Government again to Sir *Thomas Dale*. Understanding, that there was a Colony of *French*, in the Northern Part of *Virginia*, about the Latitude of 45, he sent Captain *Argall* thither, to *Port Royal* and *St. Croix*, two Towns, lying on each Side of the Bay of *Fundi*, in *Acadia*. Finding the *French* dispersed abroad in the Woods,

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Woods, he surpris'd their Ship and Bark, lately arriv'd from *France*. In them was much good Apparel, with other Furniture and Provision, which he brought to *James-Town*; but the Men escap'd, and liv'd among the *Indians* of those Countries. The Pretence for this Depredation on the *French*, was founded on their Right of first Discovery; and therefore the *English*, in Imitation of the *Spaniards*, laid Claim to the whole Continent, altho' they really possess'd, and had seated so small a Part of it. But it is certain, that we were, at that time, in profound Peace, not only with *France*, but the whole World. In his Return, Captain *Argall* likewise visit'd the *Dutch* Settlement, on *Hudson's* River; and he alledged, that Captain *Hudson*, the first Discoverer, under whose Sale they claimed that Country, being an *Englishman*, and licens'd to discover those *Northern* Parts, by the King of *England*, could not alienate that, which was only a Part of *Virginia*, from the *English* Crown. He therefore demanded the Possession; and the *Dutch* Governor, being unable to resist, peaceably submitted both himself and his Colony, to the King of *England*, and to the Governor of *Virginia* under him. Soon after, a new Governor arriv'd from *Amsterdam*, better provided. Under Colour of their Right of Purchase, and because the Country lay void and unoccupied, and consequently open to the first Possessor, he not only refus'd to pay the Tribute and Acknowledgment, which had been agreed upon, but also began to fortify, and put himself into a Posture of Defence. And the Claim of the *English*, being either wholly wav'd for the present, or but faintly pursu'd, they, this same Year, made a firm Settlement, which soon became very flourishing and populous. But Complaint being made, some Years after, to King *Charles I.* and by him represent'd to the States of *Holland*, they declar'd, by a publick Instrument, that they were no ways concern'd in it, but that it was a private Undertaking of the *West-India* Company of *Amsterdam*; and so refer'd it wholly to his Majesty's Pleasure.

MR. *Ralph Hamer*, who was afterwards one of our Council, and to whose Relation we are indebted for this Part of the History of *Virginia*, having resid'd some Years here, ever since the great Supply 1609, and being now about to return to *England*, was very desirous to visit *Powhatan* and his Court, and to be able, when he went home, to speak something of his own Knowledge. Sir *Thomas Dale* also thought it adviseable, to have some further Pledge of *Powhatan's* Friendship, besides *Pocahontas*. It was therefore resolv'd, to send this Gentleman, as his Ambassador,

1614. to demand his other Daughter. Wherefore, Mr. *Hamer*, taking *Thomas Savage* for his Interpreter, and two *Indians* for his Guides, went off in the Morning from *Bermudas*, (Sir *Thomas Dale's* favourite Seat, and chief Place of Residence) and arrived the next Evening at *Matchot*. This was a Seat of the King's, where he then was, a few Miles higher up *York River*, than *Werowocomoco*. *Powhatan* knew the Boy, *Thomas Savage*, well, whom *Newport* had presented to him, in the Year 1607; and he said to him: *My Child, you were my Boy, and I gave you Leave, four Years ago, to go and see your Friends; but I have never seen nor heard of you, nor my own Man Namontack since, altho' many Ships have gone and returned.* Then turning to Mr. *Hamer*, he demanded the Chain of Pearl, which he sent to Sir *Thomas Dale*, when the Peace was concluded; and which was to be a Token between them, whenever Sir *Thomas* sent a Messenger to him; otherwise, he was to bind him, and send him back, as a Deserter. It was true, there was such an Agreement; and Sir *Thomas Dale* had ordered his Page to deliver the Chain to Mr. *Hamer*, but the Page either neglected or forgot it. Mr. *Hamer* therefore replied, that he knew not of any such Order; and if there was such a Token, it was only intended, when Sir *Thomas*, upon the sudden, should send an *English* Messenger, without an *Indian* Guide. But if his own People should conduct the Messenger, which was the Case at present, that was a sufficient Testimony and Credential. With this Answer *Powhatan* was satisfied, and conducted them to his House, where a Guard of two hundred Bowmen attended. First he offered Mr. *Hamer* a Pipe of Tobacco, and then asked after his Brother, Sir *Thomas Dale's* Health; and how his Daughter, and unknown Son, lived and liked. And being told, that his Brother was well; and that his Daughter was so delighted with her Condition, that she would not, upon any Account, return and live again with him, he laughed heartily, and seemed much pleased to hear it.

AFTER that, he demanded of Mr. *Hamer* his Business; who telling him, that it was private, he instantly commanded all out of the House, except his two Queens, that always sat by him, and then bad him speak on. Mr. *Hamer* first presented him with several Toys, sent by Sir *Thomas Dale*; and then he told him, that his Brother *Dale*, having heard of the Fame of his youngest Daughter, intended to marry her to some worthy *English* Gentleman, which would be highly pleasing and agreeable to her Sister, who was very desirous to see her, and to have her near her;

her; and that therefore, he desired, as a Testimony of his Love, that he would send her to him. For since they were now become one People, and designed to dwell together in the same Country, he conceived, there could be no firmer Union, nor stronger Assurance of Love and Friendship, than such a natural Band of Intermarriage and Alliance. *Powhatan*, who often interrupted him, and betrayed many Signs of Uneasiness, the whole Time, he was speaking, immediately returned this Answer, with much Seriousness and Gravity.

I gladly accept my Brother's Salute of Love and Peace; which, whilst I live, I will punctually and exactly keep. I likewise receive his Presents, as Pledges thereof, with no less Thankfulness. But as to my Daughter, I sold her, a few Days since, to a great Werowance, for two Bushels of Roanoke. Mr. *Hamer* told him, that the Roanoke was but a Trifle to so great a Prince; and by returning it, he might recall her, and gratify his Brother. And he further assured him, besides strengthening the strict Band of Peace and Friendship between them, that he should have three times the Worth of the Roanoke for her, in Beads, Copper, and other Commodities. This extorted the Truth from him; and he ingenuously confessed, that the Reason of his Refusal, was the Love, he bore his Daughter. Altho' he had many Children, yet he delighted in none, he said, so much as her; and he could not possibly live without often seeing her; which he could not do, if she lived among the *English*. For he had determined, upon no Terms, to put himself into their Hands, or come among them. He therefore desired him, to urge him no farther upon the Subject, but to return his Brother this Answer: *That he held it not a brotherly Part, to endeavour to bereave him of his two darling Children at once: That, for his Part, he desired no farther Assurance of his Friendship, than the Promise, he had given: and, That from him, Sir Thomas already had a Pledge, one of his Daughters, which, as long as she lived, would be sufficient; but if she should happen to die, he promised to give another. And further, says he, tell him, altho' he had no Pledge at all, yet he need not distrust any Injury from me or my People. There hath been enough of Blood and War. Too many have been slain already, on both Sides; and, by my Occasion, there shall never be more. I, who have Power to perform it, have said it. I am now grown old, and would gladly end my Days in Peace and Quietness; and altho' I should have just Cause of Resentment, yet my Country is large enough, and I can go from you. And this Answer, I hope, will satisfy my Brother.*

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WHILST Mr. *Hamer* staid here, by Chance there came an *Englishman*, who had been taken, three Years before, at *Fort Henry*, on the Mouth of *Hampton River*. He was grown so like an *Indian*, both in Complexion and Habit, that he could be distinguished from them by nothing but his Language. He begged of Mr. *Hamer*, to procure his Liberty; which, with much Difficulty, he did. And now being about to return, *Powhatan* desired him, to put his Brother *Dale* in Mind, to send him several Toys and Tools; which, lest he should forget, he made him write them down, in a Table-Book, that he had. However he got it, it was a very fair one; and Mr. *Hamer* desired, he would give it to him. But he told him, he could not part with it: For it did him much Good, in shewing to Strangers. After which, having furnished them well with Provisions, he dismissed them; giving each a Buckskin, extremely well dressed, and sending two more, to his Son and Daughter.

ALL this while, Sir *Thomas Dale*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Minister of *Bermuda-Hundred*, and Mr. *Rolfe*, her Husband, were very careful and assiduous, in instructing *Pocahontas* in the Christian Religion; and she, on her Part, expressed an eager Desire, and shewed great Capacity in learning. After she had been tutored for some time, she openly renounced the Idolatry of her Country, confessed the Faith of Christ, and was baptized by the Name of *Rebecca*. But her real Name, it seems, was originally *Matoax*; which the *Indians* carefully concealed from the *English*, and changed it to *Pocahontas*, out of a superstitious Fear, lest they, by the Knowledge of her true Name, should be enabled to do her some Hurt. She was the first Christian *Indian* in these Parts, and perhaps the sincerest and most worthy, that has ever been since. And now she had no Manner of Desire, to return to her Father; neither could she well endure the brutish Manners, or Society, of her own Nation. Her Affection to her Husband was extremely constant and true; and he, on the other Hand, underwent great Torment and Pain, out of his violent Passion, and tender Sollicitude for her.

WHILST these things were transacting in *Virginia*, Captain *Smith's* restless and enterprising Genius could not brook a Life of Indolence and Inactivity at home. He therefore undertook a Voyage for some Merchants, to that Part of *Virginia*, which had been discovered by Captain *Gosnold*, in the Year 1602. Having made an advantageous Voyage for his Owners, and taken an exact Chart of the Coast, he then first called the Country *New-England*. This Name was afterwards confirmed and established by Prince *Charles*, who likewise, at Captain *Smith's* Desire, gave Names

Names to several Places and Rivers along the Coast, from *Cape Cod* as far as the Bay of *Fundi*. It was resolved, to settle the Country immediately, under the Conduct of Captain *Smith*; who was graced with the empty Title of Admiral of *New-England*. But he meeting with many cross Accidents the next Year, and being at last taken by a *French* Rover, the Project became abortive; and it was the Year 1620, before any Settlement was made there.

THIS Year also, Sir *Walter Raleigh* first published his History of the World; which was received with all due Applause and Admiration by the Publick, but gave Umbrage, we are told, to the King. Some Authors have insinuated, that that Royal Pedant was piqued, as an Author, and jealous of him in that Capacity. As if it would ever come into any Man's Head, to put that admirable Work in the Ballance with his old-wifish Garrulities; which are now only to be found in the Collections of the Curious, as a comic and ridiculous Entertainment, and a proper Subject for Laughter and Contempt. Others say, that he was scandalized at the Freedom, which Sir *Walter Raleigh* had taken with some dead Princes, and particularly with *Henry VIII*; thinking it perhaps an unpardonable Insolence, and a Kind of Blasphemy, that any, below a Crowned Head, should dare to censure their Actions. Whilst others tell us, that, through the mischievous Insinuations of some Sycophants about him, he suspected, that it contained an artful Exposure of himself and Ministry. And thus truly, as Mr. *Oldys* observes, the General History of the World was turned into a secret History, or oblique Satire, upon his Court; and *Scotch* Faces were to be seen in it, stuck upon old *Jewish*, *Babylonian*, or *Affyrian* Shoulders. Altho', as it is remarked by another Author, he might easily be led to fancy, he saw in the Face of *Ninias*, the Son of *Semiramis*, his own Features, as Successor to the *British Semiramis*; and that his particular Injustice, to the Writer, was well represented and censured, in the Story of *Ahab's* taking away *Naboth's* Vineyard. But from whatever Cause his Offence arose, I thought, it would not be unacceptable to the Reader, to make this short Digression, to the Honour of that immortal Work. For next to the Praise and Approbation of the Wise, it hath been ever esteemed a secondary Honour to an Author, to be carped at, by the foolish Cavils, and vain Exceptions, of those of a contrary Character.

In *June*, Captain *Argall* set Sail for *England*, and gave an Account of the quiet and flourishing State of the Colony; which Report was strengthened by the Testimony of Sir *Thomas Gates*, who had returned from *Virginia*, the *March* before.

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1615. before. To back this Success with all Expedition, the Council and Company resolved, that the great *Virginia* Lottery should be drawn, with all convenient Speed; which was accordingly done, the following Year 1615. The same Year, a *Spanish* Ship was seen to beat to and fro, off *Point Comfort*; and at last, she sent a Boat ashore, for a Pilot. Captain *Davies*, the Governor of the Fort, readily granted one, and sent Mr. *John Clarke*; who was no sooner on board, but they set Sail, and carried him off to *Spain*. He was there strongly solicited, to become their Instrument and Pilot, to betray the Colony. But he bravely and honestly resisted all their Temptations; and was, therefore, obliged to undergo a long Captivity. At last, after four Years Imprisonment, he was, with much Suit, returned to *England*. But the *Spanish* Ship, by some Accident, left three of her own Men behind; who were immediately seized, and strictly examined. They said, that having lost their Admiral, they were forced into these Parts; and that two of them were Captains, and in chief Authority in the Fleet. But sometime after, one was discovered to be an *Englishman*; who had been a Pilot in the *Spanish Armada*, in the grand Expedition against *England*, in the Year 1588. And not content with this Perfidy and Baseness to his Country, he began here to plot, and persuaded some Malecontents, to join with him, in running away with a small Bark. But they were apprehended, and some of them executed; and he, now lying at Mercy, readily confessed, that there were two or three *Spanish* Ships at Sea, sent purposely to discover the State of the Colony. But he said, their Commission was not to be opened, 'till they arrived in the Bay; so that, of any thing further he was utterly ignorant. One of the *Spaniards* died here, and the other was sent to *England*. But this Renegado was hanged at Sea, by Sir *Thomas Dale*, in his Voyage homeward.

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FOR Sir *Thomas Dale* had now been five Years in the Country; and he had been, for some time past, kept here, and supported under a longing Desire to visit his own Affairs and Family, by a just Sense of his Duty to God and his Country, and out of Compassion to the poor Creatures committed to his Charge. But now the Country being in perfect Peace, and having settled all things in good Order, and made Choice of Mr. *George Yeardley*, to be Deputy-Governor in his Absence, he embarked for *England*, with *Pocahontas* and Mr. *Rolfe* her Husband; and carrying with them several young *Indians* of both Sexes, they all arrived safe at *Plimouth*, the 12th of *June*, 1616. But at the time of his Daughter's Departure, *Powhatan* had withdrawn himself

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himself to the King of *Moy-umps*, on *Patowmack* River; out of Fear, as it was supposed, of *Opechancanough*. For he was then a Man very gracious and popular, both with the *Indians* and the *English*; and as *Opitchapan*, the second Brother, was lame and decrepit, he was thought to look upon *Powhatan*, a Person of equal Ambition and Capacity for Government, as the only Obstacle to his aspiring Hopes and Designs. And therefore, *Powhatan* suspected at this time, that he had entered into a Conspiracy with the *English*, to betray him into their Hands; a Case, which he had ever dreaded, and which, he had therefore turned the whole Force of his Politicks, to prevent and avoid.

THIS worthy and honourable Knight, Sir *Thomas Dale*, who may justly be ranked among the first and best of our Governors, had, by his singular Vigor and Industry, and by his Judgment and Conduct of the Affairs of the Colony, put things into such an easy and prosperous Condition, that, from this Time, an Alteration was made, in the Right of Adventure for Land. For before this, every one, that had adventured his own Person, or had sent, or brought others over, at his own Expence, was entitled to an hundred Acres of Land, personal Adventure, for each; which was the utmost that could be granted in any single Share, by the King's Letters patent, and which are called, in the Company's Journals, and other old Records, Great Shares, or Shares of old Adventure. But now it was thought, all Difficulties were so far overcome, and the Country settled in such a Way of subsisting and flourishing, that, henceforward, fifty Acres only were allowed to those, who came, or brought others over. This is the ancient, legal, and a most indubitable Method of granting Lands in *Virginia*, and was intended for a great and useful End, the encouraging People, to come themselves, and to bring or send others over, to inhabit the Country; and that they might, immediately upon their Arrival, have a Place, whereon to seat themselves and Families. And I likewise find, in the old Records, that upon peopling and saving these hundred, or fifty Acres (the Terms of which I can no where find) they were entitled to the like Quantity more, to be held, and seated at their Leisure. But besides this, there were two other Methods of granting Lands. The one was upon Merit: When any Person had conferred a Benefit, or done Service, to the Company or Colony, they would bestow such a Proportion of Land upon him. However, to prevent Excess in this Particular, they were restrained, by his Majesty's Letters patent, not to exceed twenty great Shares, or two thousand Acres, in any of these Grants. The other

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was called the Adventure of the Purse; every Person, who paid twelve Pounds ten Shillings into the Company's Treasury, having thereby a Title to an hundred Acres of Land, any where in *Virginia*, that had not been before granted to, or possessed by others.

SIR *Thomas Dale*, among the many Praises, justly due to his Administration, had been particularly careful of the Supplies of Life; and had, accordingly, always caused so much Corn to be planted, that the Colony lived in great Plenty and Abundance. Nay, whereas they had formerly been constrained, to buy Corn of the *Indians* Yearly, which exposed them to much Scorn and Difficulty, the Case was so much altered under his Management, that the *Indians* sometimes applied to the *English*, and would sell the very Skins from their Shoulders for Corn. And to some of their petty Kings, Sir *Thomas* lent four or five hundred Bushels; for Repayment whereof the next Year, he took a Mortgage of their whole Countries. But as the Cultivation of Tobacco began to creep in, and to obstruct their Crops of Corn, he made a Law, that no Tobacco should be set, 'till such a Proportion of Corn-Ground, for the Master and each Servant, had been first prepared and planted. And this was the first Beginning and Essay, towards making Tobacco here, which hath ever since continued the Staple-Commodity of our Country. But after his Departure, both his Law and his Example were utterly laid by and forgot; and the new Governor himself, together with all the People, being tempted with the View of present Gain, applied themselves so eagerly to planting Tobacco, that they neglected the other necessary Article of Life. And besides this Neglect of their Corn, the Supplies of People; sent this Year, came, as usual, so unprovided, that they soon eased them of the Plenty, left by Sir *Thomas Dale*, and reduced them to great Streights. Mr. *Yearley* therefore, sent to the *Chickahominies*, for the Tribute Corn. For there being about two hundred and fifty, or three hundred, fighting Men of the Nation, and each Man being obliged, by the Treaty, to bring two Bushels of Corn to the Store, such a Quantity would have been a great Relief to their Necessities. But receiving a slight and affrontive Answer, he drew together an hundred of his best Shot, and went to *Chickahominy*.

THE People there received him with much Scorn and Contempt. They told him, he was only Sir *Thomas Dale's* Man; that they had indeed paid his Master, according to Agreement; but as for him, they had no Order, and less Inclination, either to obey, or give him any Corn. And
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being led by their Captain, *Kissanacomen*, Governor of *Oziniés*, they drew themselves up, in martial Rank and Order, as they saw the *English* do. But after many Remonstrances, and much Bravade and Threatening on both Sides, Mr. *Yeardley*, at last, commanded his Men to fire upon them. Twelve were slain, and as many taken Prisoners; among whom, were two of their Senators, or Elders. For their Ransom, they had an hundred Bushels; and the *Indians*, to buy their Peace, readily loaded their three Boats with Corn; one of which, crowding on, to bring the first News to *James-Town*, was unhappily overset, all her Corn lost, and eleven Men drowned.

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Opechancanough, a politick and haughty Prince, was much vexed, that neither his Brother, nor he, could ever bring this obstinate People, firmly to their Obedience. Being, therefore, as attentive to enslave them, as they were watchful and tenacious of their Liberty, he took this Opportunity, and agreed with Mr. *Yeardley*, to come to no Terms with them, without his Advice and Consent. And as the *English* passed down the River with their Prisoners, he met them at *Oziniés*, and pretended to the *Indians*, that he had, with great Pains and Sollicitation, procured their Peace. To requite which Service, they chearfully proclaimed him King of their Nation, and flocked, from all Parts, with Presents of Beads, Copper, and such other Trifles, as were in Value and Esteem among them. And he was glad to be content with this precarious Acknowledgment, from a free and resolute People. But this seasonable and vigorous Chastisement of the *Chickahominies*, and especially the strict League and Friendship, with *Opechancanough*, and the whole Imperial Family, kept the rest of the *Indians* in such Awe and Dependance, that the *English* followed their Labours, with the utmost Quietness and Security. Many also of the Savages daily brought them such Provisions, as they could get; and would be their Guides in hunting, and sometimes hunt for them themselves. And thus, by such an Intercourse and Familiarity, the *English* and they lived together, the rest of this Gentleman's Government, as if they had been one People. And Captain *Smith* tells us, that Mr. *Yeardley* had some trained to their Pieces to kill him Fowl, as had likewise several other Gentlemen in the Country; and that these soon became as dextrous and expert, as any of the *English*. But the Captain's Authority is rendered very suspicious in this, by the Records of our General Court. For long after, the Governor and Council received some Queries from *England*, the fourth whereof was: *What was the Cause of the Massacre, and who first taught*
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1616. *the Indians the Use of Fire Arms?* Whereupon, in a Court held the 1st of November, 1624, Robert Poole and Edward Geo. Yeardley, Govern-
nor. Grindon, Gentlemen, ancient Planters and Inhabitants of the Country, appear, and declare, upon Oath, their Knowledge of the Matter. Their Depositions entirely clear Mr. Yeardley, and shew him to have been very cautious and careful in that Point; and they throw the whole Blame upon Captain Smith himself, Sir Thomas Dale, and some other inferior Officers and private Persons.

IN the mean while, *Pocahontas*, or the Lady *Rebecca*, as they now affected to call her, was kindly received in *England*. She was, by this time, well instructed in Christianity, spoke good and intelligible *English*, and was become very civil and ceremonious, after the *English* Fashion. She was likewise delivered of a Son, of which she was extremely fond; and the Treasurer and Company gave Order, for the handsome Maintenance of both her and her Child. Besides which, her Company was courted, and she kindly treated, by many Persons of highest Rank and Quality in the Nation. There hath been indeed a constant Tradition, that the King became jealous, and was highly offended at Mr. *Rolfe*, for marrying a Princess. That anointed Pedant, it seems, had so high an Idea of the *Jus divinum*, and indefeasible Right, of *Powhatan*, that he held it a great Crime and Misdemeanor, for any private Gentleman to mingle with his Imperial Blood. And he might perhaps likewise think, consistently with his own Principles, that the Right to these Dominions would, thereby, be vested in Mr. *Rolfe's* Posterity. However, it passed off, without any farther bad Consequence, than a little Displeasure and Murmuring.

AT the time of *Pocahontas's* Arrival, Captain *Smith* was preparing for a Voyage to *New-England*. He was much concerned, that the Suddenness of his Departure put it out of his Power, to do her that Service, which he desired, and she well deserved at his Hands. However, being well acquainted at Court, and particularly favoured and countenanced by Prince *Charles*, he drew up, and presented to the Queen, before her Arrival in *London*, a Representation of her Case and Desert. In this, he expresses a deep Sense of Gratitude to her; and sets forth her great Affection, and many Services, to himself, and the whole *English* Nation: That by her, their Quarrels had oft been appeased, their Wants supplied, and their Dangers averted: That she, under God, had been the chief Instrument, of preserving the Colony, and confirming the Settlement: That being taken Prisoner, she had become the Means of a firm Peace and Alliance, with her Father: That she was now married to
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an *English* Gentleman; who, however, was not of Ability, to make her fit to attend her Majesty: That she was the first Christian, that ever was of that Nation; and the first *Virginian*, that ever spoke, or became *English*: That being well received, and honoured by so great a Queen, beyond what her simple Thought could imagine or conceive, she might be the Means of adding another Kingdom, to his Majesty's Dominions: But by bad Usage, her present Love, to the *English* and Christianity, might be turned to Scorn and Fury; and all the Good, she had, or might do, diverted to the worst of Evil. And therefore, he humbly recommends her to her Majesty, as a proper Object of her Favour and Regard, on Account of her Birth, Virtue, Simplicity, and forlorn Condition in a strange Country.

BUT before Captain *Smith's* Departure, *Pocahontas* came up to *London*. Being offended by the Smoke of the Town, she was immediately removed to *Brentford*; whither *Smith*, with several of his Friends, went to visit her. After a cold and modest Salutation, she turned from him in a passionate Manner, hid her Face, and could not be brought to speak a Word for two or three Hours. But at last, she began to talk; and she reminded him, of the many Services, she had done him, and of the strict Promise of Friendship, between him and her Father. *You*, says she, *promised him, that what was yours, should be his; and that you and he would be all one. Being a Stranger in our Country, you called Powhatan Father; and I, for the same Reason, will now call you so.* But Captain *Smith*, knowing the jealous Humour of the Court, durst not allow of that Title, as she was a King's Daughter; and therefore, he endeavoured to excuse himself from it. But she, with a stern and steady Countenance, said: *You were not afraid to come into my Father's Country, and strike a Fear into every Body, but myself; and are you here afraid, to let me call you Father? I tell you then, I will call you Father, and you shall call me Child; and so I will for ever be of your Kindred and Country. They always told us, that you were dead; and I knew no otherwise, 'till I came to Plimouth. But Powhatan commanded Tomocomo to seek you out, and know the Truth; because your Countrymen are much given to Lying.*

THIS Tomocomo (or Uttamaccomack, as *Smith* calls him) had *Matachanna*, one of *Powhatan's* Daughters, to Wife; was one of the chief of his Council, and of their Priests; and was esteemed a very wise and understanding Fellow among them. He was therefore sent upon this Voyage, by *Powhatan*, to take the Number of the People in *England*, and to bring him a full and exact Account, of their Strength and

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and Condition. And accordingly, being arrived at *Plimouth*, he got a long Stick, intending to cut a Notch, for every one, he saw. But he was soon tired with such an endless Work, and threw away his Stick; and being asked, by the King, after his Return, how many People there were? it is said, that he replied: *Count the Stars in the Sky, the Leaves on the Trees, and the Sand upon the Sea Shore; for such is the Number of the People in England.* But Sir *Thomas Dale* told Mr. *Purchas*, that he believed him to be sent by *Opechancanough*, their King and Governor in *Powhatan's* Absence and Retreat; and that he was sent, not so much to number the People, as to take an Account of their Corn and Trees. For *Namontack*, and such others, as had been sent to *England* formerly, being ignorant and silly, and having seen little else besides *London*, had reported much of their Men and Houses, but thought, they had small Store of Corn and Trees. And it was therefore a general Opinion among these Barbarians, that the *English* came into their Country, to get a Supply of these; which might be strengthened and confirmed, by their sending large Quantities of Cedar, Clapboard, and Wainscot, to *England*, and by their continual Want and Eagerness after Corn. But *Tomocomo*, landing in the *West*, and travelling thence to *London*, was soon undeceived, and saw great Cause, to admire the *English* Plenty. However, he began to take an Account, untill his Arithmetick failed him. Meeting Captain *Smith* accidentally in *London*, they soon renewed their old Acquaintance. He told the Captain, that *Powhatan* had commanded him, to find him out, to shew him the *English* God, their King, Queen, and Prince; of which he had told them so much. As to God, Captain *Smith* excused and explained the Matter, the best, he could; and as to the King, he told him, that he had already seen him, and should see the rest, whenever he pleased. But he denied, that he had seen the King, 'till, by Circumstances, he was convinced and satisfied. And then, with a melancholly Countenance, he said: *You gave Powhatan a white Dog, which he fed as himself; but your King has given me nothing, and yet I am better, than your white Dog.* Such an arch Sense had this Barbarian, of the stingy Treatment, with which he had been received at Court.

HOWEVER, *Pocahontas* was eagerly sought, and kindly entertained every where. Many Courtiers, and others of his Acquaintance, daily flocked to Captain *Smith*, to be introduced to her. They generally confessed, that the Hand of God did visibly appear, in her Conversion; and that they had seen many *English* Ladies, worse favoured, of less ex-
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aſt Proportion, and genteel Carriage, than ſhe was. She was likewiſe carried to Court, by the Lady *Delawarr*, attended by the Lord, her Huſband, and divers other Perſons of Faſhion and Diſtinction. The whole Court were charmed and ſurpriſed, at the Decency and Grace of her Deportment; and the King himſelf, and Queen, were pleaſed, honourably to receive and eſteem her. The Lady *Delawarr*, and thoſe other Perſons of Quality, alſo waited on her, to the Maſks, Balls, Plays, and other publick Entertainments; with which ſhe was wonderfully pleaſed and delighted. And ſhe would, doubtleſs, have well deſerved, and fully returned, all this Reſpect and Kindneſs, had ſhe lived to arrive in *Virginia*.

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Geo. Yeardley, Governor.

THE Lord *Rich* was one of the Company in *England*; a great and powerful, but a moſt deſigning, intereſted, and factious Member. Not content with that lawful and regular Advantage, which might be juſtly expected, in a due Courſe of Time, from the Enterpriſe, but aiming at a ſudden and extraordinary Profit, altho' it ſhould be, by the Spoil of the Publick, and Oppreſſion of the private Planters, and being likewiſe egged on and aſſiſted, by ſome corrupt and avaritious Perſons, he threw himſelf at the Head of a Faction in the Company, and drew over to his Party, as many Creatures and Dependents, as he poſſibly could. By their Means and Support, he hoped and endeavoured, to bear ſuch a Sway, both in the *Virginia* and *Somer-Islands* Company, that the Management of all things at home, and the Placing all Governors abroad, ſhould be entirely in his Power and Diſpoſal. And altho' he met with a Check in his Deſigns, from many great and worthy Members, and a vaſt Majority of the whole Companies, yet he did, at this time, carry a very important Point. Captain *Samuel Argall*, a Friend and Relation of Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Treafurer, was one of Lord *Rich*'s ſaſteſt Friends and Favourites. His Lordſhip therefore, having concerted Matters with him, and entered into a Partnership, procured him to be elected Deputy-Governor of *Virginia*. And altho' Martial Law was then the Common Law of the Country, yet the better to arm and ſtrengthen him, with the Exerciſe of ſuch a deſpotic Authority, and that no Man here might dare to open his Mouth againſt him, he obtained for him the Place of Admiral of the Country and Seas adjoining.

WITH theſe Views and Powers, was Captain *Argall* fitted out, and ſent to *Virginia*, in the Beginning of 1617. And the Treafurer and Council took Care, for the proper Accommodation of *Pocahontas* and her Huſband, on board

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the Admiral Ship. Mr. *Rolfe* was also made Secretary and Recorder-General of *Virginia*, which Place was now first instituted. But it pleased God, at *Gravesend*, to take *Pocahontas* to his Mercy, in about the two and twentieth Year of her Age. Her unexpected Death caused not more Sorrow and Concern in the Spectators, than her religious End gave them Joy and Surprise. For she died, agreeably to her Life, a most sincere and pious Christian. Her little Son, *Thomas Rolfe*, was left at *Plimouth* with Sir *Lewis Steukley*, who desired the Care and Education of him. This Gentleman was then Vice-Admiral of the County of *Devon*; but soon after, having seized Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and been guilty of a notable Piece of Treachery towards him, he drew upon himself the publick Scorn and Detestation. For however hard or unjust Kings and Statesmen may be to those Persons of their Age, who are of the most eminent Parts and Virtues, the Publick is generally more candid in it's Judgments, and apt to resent every Hardship or ill Usage to such Men. Sir *Lewis Steukley* therefore fell unpitied, when he was afterwards detected in corrupt Practices; for which he was obliged to purchase his Life at the Expence of his whole Fortune, and at last died, a poor, despised, and distracted Beggar. And as these Misfortunes happened soon after this Time, it is not to be supposed, that young Mr. *Rolfe* long enjoyed the Advantage of his Favour and kind Intentions. However he was carried up to *London*, and there educated by his Uncle Mr. *Henry Rolfe*, and afterwards became a Person of Fortune and Distinction in this Country. He left behind him an only Daughter, who was married to Col. *Robert Bolling*; by whom she left an only Son, the late Major *John Bolling*, who was Father to the present Col. *John Bolling*, and several Daughters, married to Col. *Richard Randolph*, Col. *John Fleming*, Dr. *William Gay*, Mr. *Thomas Eldridge*, and Mr. *James Murray*. So that this Remnant of the Imperial Family of *Virginia*, which long ran in a single Person, is now encreased and branched out into a very numerous Progeny.

BUT Governor *Argall*, with his Vice-Admiral Captain *Ralph Hamer*, pursued their Voyage to *Virginia*, where they arrived in *May*. He found all the publick Works and Buildings in *James-Town* fallen to Decay; not above five or six private Houses fit to be inhabited; the Market-place, Streets, and all other spare Places, planted with Tobacco; and the Colony dispersed all about, as every Man could find the properest Place, and best Conveniency, for Planting. But soon after his Arrival, he wrote to *England*, that the Colony was in great Peace and Plenty, and the People busily

bushily employed, in preparing for their Crops of Corn and Tobacco. With him returned *Tomocomo*, who, in our old Records, is called by a third Name, *Tomakin*. Captain *Argall* sent him immediately to *Opechancanough*, who came to *James-Town*, and received a Present, with great Joy and Thankfulness. *Tomocomo* railed violently against *England*, and the *English*; and particularly, against his best Friend, *Sir Thomas Dale*. But all his Reports were so clearly disproved before *Opechancanough* and his Grandees, that much to the Satisfaction of the Grandees, he was rejected and disgraced. But *Powhatan*, all this while, leaving the Care and Charge of the Government chiefly to *Opechancanough*, went about from Place to Place, taking his Pleasure, and visiting the different Parts of his Dominions. However he still continued in good Friendship with the *English*. He greatly lamented the Death of his Daughter; but rejoiced, that her Child was living. He also, as well as *Opechancanough*, expressed much Desire to see him; but determined, that he ought not to come over, before he was stronger. And, this Year, one Mr. *Lambert* made a great Discovery, in the Trade of Planting. For the Method of curing Tobacco then was in Heaps. But this Gentleman found out, that it cured better upon Lines; and therefore the Governor wrote to the Company, to send over Line for that Purpose.

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CAPTAIN *Argall* was a Man of Sense and Industry; and therefore, to secure a Plenty of Provisions, he sent out, the next Year, a Frigate and a small Bark to trade, which brought near six hundred Bushels of Corn, to the great Relief of the Colony. For the Company's Servants, that worked for the Store, were reduced to fifty four, Men, Women, and Children. But from the Farmers, who were at Captain *Argall's* Arrival eighty one, and from the *Indians*, as Tribute, they received annually above twelve hundred Bushels. But this Year, there was a great Drought, with a dreadful Storm, that poured down Hailstones, eight or nine Inches round, which did much Damage to both Corn and Tobacco. However, what Tobacco could be saved, was made up, the best at three Shillings a Pound, and the rest at eighteen Pence. The Governor also published several Edicts: That all Goods should be sold at twenty five *per Cent*, and Tobacco allowed for at three Shillings a Pound, and not under nor over, on the Penalty of three Years Slavery to the Colony: That there should be no private Trade or Familiarity with the Savages: That no *Indian* should be taught to shoot with Guns, on Pain of Death to Teacher and Learner: That no Person

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1618. *Sam. Argall* Governor. should hunt Deer or Hogs, without the Governor's Leave : That all Hogs, found a second time in *James-Town*, should be forfeited to the Colony ; and those at *Bermuda*, ringed : That no Man should shoot, except in his own necessary Defence against an Enemy, till a new Supply of Ammunition came in, on Pain of a Year's Slavery : That none should go on board the Ship, then at *James-Town*, without the Governor's Leave ; and that no Masters of Ships should suffer their Sailors to go ashore, or talk with the People at *Kicquotan* : That every Person should go to Church, *Sundays* and Holidays, or lye Neck and Heels that Night, and be a Slave to the Colony the following Week ; for the second Offence, he should be a Slave for a Month ; and for the third, a Year and a Day.

THE Lord *Delawarr*, who had withdrawn from the Government on Account of his Health, and whose Commission, as Captain-General, was supreme, and superseded all others, being ardently wished for by the Colony, was now sent by the Council and Company, in a large Ship, with a Supply of two hundred People. But meeting with contrary Winds and much bad Weather, many fell sick, and thirty died. In this Number was the Right Honourable, the Lord Governor himself ; a Person of a most noble and generous Disposition, who had warmly embarked, and expended much Money, in this Business, for his Country's Good. *Cambden* tells us, that he had been feasted at the *Western-Islands*, and that his Death was not without suspicion of Poison. And I think I have somewhere seen, that he died about the Mouth of *Delawarr Bay*, which thence took it's Name from him. But being not able, now to recollect the Authority, I shall leave it, as I found it, and not venture positively to affirm it. After his Death, they were forced on the Coast of *New-England* ; where they got a Recruit of Wood and Water, and took such an Abundance of Fish and Fowl, as plentifully served them to *Virginia*. They likewise here met a small *Frenchman*, rich in Bever and other Furs, who feasted them with so great a Variety of Fish, Fowl, and Fruits, that they were all amazed ; little suspecting, that wild Desert could afford such a wonderful Plenty of delicate and wholesome Food. This Ship bringing News, that Multitudes were preparing in *England* to be sent, Captain *Argall* called a Council, and wrote to the Treasurer and Council in *England* the State of the Colony ; and what Misery must necessarily ensue, if they sent not Provisions, as well as People. And he likewise represented their Want of skilful Husbandmen, with Shares, Harnefs, and other Implements for Ploughing.

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For their Land was exceeding good, and they had now about forty Bulls and Oxen, which were wholly idle and useles, for want of skilful Men to bring them to Labour. However, I find, in our old Records, that some Ploughs, by this time, were set to work.

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ONE *Richard Killingbeck*, this Summer, attempting a secret Trade with the *Indians*, was, together with his whole Company, slain by a Party of the *Chickahominies*; who fearing the Consequences, robbed the *Matchacomoco* House of their Town, and fled. This was their Temple and religious Treasury; held, to the highest Degree, sacred and inviolable by the *Indians*. And the *Sunday* after, they slew two Boys and three young Children, within a Mile of *James-Town*, while their Parents were at Church. The Governor therefore sent to *Opechancanough*, who had the Title of their King, and the Power too, as far as Necessity constrained, or it suited with their Humour or Interest. But he excused the Nation from the Guilt, and laid the whole Blame upon some fugitive Robbers; of whose Town he sent him a Basket of Earth, as Possession given; and promised, to send their Heads also for Satisfaction, as soon as they could possibly catch them. But this he never performed; and considering the Perfidy of his Nature, and the exterminating Hatred, he always bore to the *English*, it is much to be questioned, whether he was not privy to, or perhaps the chief Author and Contriver of the whole Matter. However, by these Acts of Hostility and Barbarity, the whole Nation was rendered obnoxious to the *English* Power and Resentment, and his Regal Authority thereby firmly riveted and established among them. Altho' the Governor, being satisfied with this Pretence and Excuse, never farther prosecuted, or revenged, this perfidious Murder and Breach of the Peace.

CAPTAIN *Argall*, all this time, was not negligent or forgetful of the grand End of his coming to *Virginia*, but pushed on his unrighteous Gains, by all imaginable Methods of Extortion and Oppression. For besides a Multitude of private Wrongs to particular Persons, he converted in a manner wholly to his own Use and Possession, whatsoever remained, at that time, belonging to the Publick, being the Fruits and Relicts of eighty thousand Pounds Expence. So that he was loudly charged, with many Offences in Matter of State and Government, with Depredation and Waste of the publick Estate and Revenues of the Company, and with great Oppression of the Colony in general, as well as several private Men in particular. And the Cries of his Outrages and Rapine at last became so loud and numerous, and

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and the Company in *England* was so enraged at the Reports and Informations, they received, that they could scarce be restrained from flying to the King, for the Redress of so many and so great Mischiefs. But Sir *Thomas Smith*, whether in Favour to Captain *Argall*, his Kinsman, or out of his real Judgment, alledged, that imploring his Majesty's Aid might prove prejudicial to the Company's Power, and of dangerous Consequence to their Liberties; and might also give Room to much publick Scandal and Reflection. And therefore he proposed a milder and less clamorous Way of Proceeding.

To this End, he himself, Alderman *Johnson*, the Deputy-Treasurer, Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, and others of the Council, wrote Captain *Argall* a Letter, dated the 23d of *August*, 1618; charging him, in very sharp and severe Terms, with many Crimes and Misdemeanors: That he was exceedingly chargeable to the Company, and converted the Fruits of their Expence to his own private Use: That he was grown so proud and insolent, as to scorn the Title of Deputy-Governor, declaring, that he would be no Man's Deputy: That he wronged the Magazine, by his Negligence and Connivency: That he had appropriated the *Indian* Trade to himself; using the Company's Frigate and other Vessels, together with their Men, to trade for his own Benefit, and prohibiting the Trade of Skins and Furs to all others: That he took the old Planters, who ought to be free, as well as the Company's Tenants and Servants, and set them upon his own Employments: That he expended the publick Store-Corn, to feed his own Men: That he had, for some private End and Purpose of his own, informed the Company, that *Opechancanough* and the Natives intended to give their Country to Mr. *Rolfe's* Child, and to reserve it from all others, 'till he came of Age: That he neither looked into, nor regarded, their Instructions; but had, under Pretence of their Commission, disposed of all the Company's Cattle, against their Express Orders and Directions, and had converted the Profits thereof to his own Use: That he had, under Colour of his Right, as Admiral, seized and detained some Hides, unlawfully taken or purchased, for which the Company had compounded, with the Lord High Admiral and the *Spanish* Ambassador, at the great Expence of four hundred Pounds: And in short, that all his Actions and Proceedings seemed to be, as if the Colony was wholly intended for his private Gain and Advantage, and as if he was so great, and they so mean and insensible of Reason, as to let things, of this publick and notorious Nature, pass off without a strict and exact Account;

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upbraiding him also with these ungrateful Returns to their Favour and Friendship, in procuring him the Government. 1618.

AT the same time, they wrote a Letter to my Lord *Delawarr*, whose Death was yet unknown in *England*, containing the like Heads of Complaint and Accusation against Captain *Argall*; and informing him, that by the strange Insolence of his last Letter, and by the Informations of sundry Witnesses, lately come from *Virginia*, there was more Discontent raised in the Adventurers, and more Danger feared to the Colony, than had ever happened, by any other thing, since the first Beginning of the Enterprize. So that the Adventurers could hardly be restrained from going to the King, altho' far off on a Progress, and procuring his Majesty's Command, to fetch him home as a Malefactor. But to avoid farther Scandal to their Management and Administration, they beseech his Lordship, to send him forthwith to *England*, to make his personal Appearance, and to give his Answers to such things, as should be laid to his Charge. And soasmuch as it was conceived, that there would be many things, for which he must make Satisfaction to the Company, they desired his Lordship, to seise upon his Tobacco, Skins, Furs, and other Goods, to be sent to them as a Deposite, till all Matters should be satisfied and adjusted; and that he would likewise return the Cattle, and other publick Goods, which he had embezzled, to their proper Places and Owners. And at the same time, there was an Order of Court passed in *England*, to sequester all Captain *Argall*'s Effects, which should be sent home, to make Restitution to the Company for his Rapines and Extortions.

THESE Letters, coming, by Lord *Delawarr*'s Death, to Captain *Argall*'s Hands, were so far from diverting or repressing his Exorbitances, that they seemed, only to put him upon his Guard, and to render him the more eager and studious to make the best Use of his Time. For my Lady *Delawarr* complained, that he wrongfully took some of her Goods from her late Husband's Servants, without rendering any Account of them. And indeed he had, in general, assumed to himself a Power, of ordering and disposing of his Lordship's Estate, setting his Tenants and Servants to his own Work, and thereby ruining and depopulating a very large and hopeful Plantation, begun by his Lordship. But one Captain *Edward Brewster*, alledging Lord *Delawarr*'s Order, for their being under his Management and Direction, endeavoured to withdraw them from the Governor's Work, and to employ them, for the Maintenance of themselves, and for the Benefit of his Lordship's Heirs,

1618. Heirs and Fellow-Adventurers. But one of them refused to obey him, which drew from him some threatening Expressions against the Fellow. This he immediately ran with to the Governor; who being drunk with Power, and impatient of Opposition, (a Distemper, very incident to our *American* Viceroy) and being also vexed perhaps, to find any one dare to withstand his arbitrary Schemes of Gain, he caused Captain *Brewster* to be seized, tried by a Court Martial, and condemned to Death.

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THE Legality of this Proceeding was founded on an Article of the Martial Laws of the Low Countries, introduced among those Articles, sent over by Sir *Thomas Smith*. This decreed, "That no Man should offer any Violence, " or contemptuously resist or disobey his Commander, or " do any Act, or speak any Words, which might tend to " breed Disorder or Mutiny, in the Town or Field, or " disobey any principal Officer's Directions, upon Pain of " Death." But altho' it was evident from his Majesty's Charter, that the Governor had Power to execute Martial Law only in Times of Mutiny and Rebellion, in like Manner as Lords Lieutenants in *England* had, and that in all other Cases, as well civil as criminal, their Proceedings were to be as agreeable, as conveniently might be, to the Laws, Statutes, Government, and Policy of the Realm of *England*; and altho' it was as evident, that there was at that time no Pretence of Rebellion or Mutiny, but the Colony enjoyed an universal Peace and Tranquility; yet was this innocent Gentleman's Condemnation most unmercifully driven on, and his Life subjected to the Pleasure of a furious and enraged Enemy. And this, not in an Affair of publick Concern, but in a Dispute of private Right; and when it did not appear, that he had uttered any thing against the Governor, but only some threatening Language against a Servant, that disobeyed his lawful Commands. And the whole was carried on and transacted, under Colour and Pretence of a Law, which could have no legal Force or Validity in the *British* Dominions. Altho' it must be confessed, that Martial Law was then the reigning Law of *Virginia*, to the great Discouragement of the Colony, and to the manifest Infringement of the Rights and Liberties of the People, as *British* Subjects. And this Course, at times introduced and used from the first, as being in a State of War and Danger, was firmly riveted and confirmed by those bloody Articles, sent in by Sir *Thomas Smith*, which were unfortunately, at their first coming, applied to a good Purpose and Effect by Sir *Thomas Dale*, in quelling the disorderly and mutinous Humours of the People.

ple. And thus, by this Example and Authority, and by easy Acquiescence and Ignorance in the People of their native Rights and Privileges, it was made the standing Rule of Proceeding, and became the Common Law and Custom of the Country.

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BUT some of the Court, reflecting on the extreme Severity of these Martial Laws, and being also moved perhaps by the particular Hardship and Unrighteousness of the present Case, prevailed on the rest, to go in a Body, and intercede for Captain *Brewster's* Life. And being also joined by such of the Clergy, as were at Hand, they did, with much Intréaty, and after many Repulses and Allegations of Captain *Argall*, at last prevail to save his Life. But it was upon this express Condition, that he should take a solemn Oath, neither directly nor indirectly, in *England* or elsewhere, to utter any contemptuous Words, or do any thing else, that should turn to the Dishonour or Disparagement of Captain *Argall*; and that he should never return more to *Virginia*, by any direct or indirect Means. All which was this poor Gentleman, a Person of some Figure and Consideration, obliged to submit to, to respite and put off an immediate Execution. But after his Return to *England*, being deeply sensible of this oppressive and injurious Treatment, as also to clear his Reputation, and to wipe off the Stain of being a condemned Man, he appealed from the Sentence of the Court Martial in *Virginia*, to the Treasurer and Company in *England*. And the Prosecution of this Appeal did greatly contribute, to shew and expose the extreme Rapaciousness and tyrannical Administration of Captain *Argall*.

A Ship, called the *Treasurer*, was also, this Year, sent from *England* by the Lord *Rich*, who was now become Earl of *Warwick*, a Person of great Note afterwards in the Civil Wars, and commander of the Fleet against the King. He had aspired to the Title of Earl of *Clare*; but that being then esteemed the same with *Clarence*, and a Royal Title, it was judged too high an Honour for a Family in a Manner new and upstart, and that of *Warwick* conferred upon him. This Ship was here new victualled, and manned with the stoutest and ablest Recruits, that could be picked out of the whole Colony. And then, under Colour of an old Commission of Hostility from the Duke of *Savoy*, against the *Spaniards*, which they had by some Means procured, she was sent to rove on the *Spanish* Dominions in the *West-Indies*; where she committed much Ravage, and gained some Booty. But they had the Conscience even to defraud the Mariners, who afterwards made Complaint to the

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1618. Company, that they had cheated them of their Share of the Negroes taken; all which were placed on the Earl of *Warwick's* Lands in *Bermudas*, and there kept and detained to his Lordship's Use. And this Proceeding was esteemed, not only a manifest Act of Piracy, but also a thing of great Danger to the Colony, considering our weak Condition at that time, and the great Strength of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*. Mr. *Beverley* also gives a particular Account of an Expedition, made this Year by Captain *Argall* in Person, to dislodge the *French* at *St. Croix* and *Port-Royal* in *Acadia*. But as I cannot find the least Mention of it, in any contemporary Writer, or in any of the old Records, that I have perused and examined, I am apt to think, he is mistaken in the Time, and confounds this with the Expedition, he made under Sir *Thomas Dale*, in the Year 1614.

BUT the Company in *England*, receiving Advice of Lord *Delawarr's* Death, and finding, that Sir *Thomas Smith's* Project had thereby failed of Success, came to a Resolution of sending over a new Governor, with Power to examine all Complaints and Accusations against Captain *Argall* upon the Spot. And therefore Captain *Yeardley*, who was upon this Occasion knighted, was chosen Governor and Captain-General, and sent upon this Business. But Captain *Argall*, in the mean while, was fully apprised, by the Earl of *Warwick* and others, his Associates in *England*, of every thing, that had passed in their Courts concerning himself. Wherefore, to prevent the Seizure of his Goods, he consigned all his Effects, under other Men's Names, and into the Hands of great and powerful Persons. And as to those Goods, which were sent home, before he knew of the Order to sequester them, the Earl of *Warwick*, by his Intriguing and Interest, got them all into his own Hands, under Pretence of taking out the Share, which belonged to him by his Right of Partnership, and upon express Promise, to return the rest into the Company's Hands. But this Promise he could never be brought to perform; so that the Company were deprived of the Means to right themselves, and defrauded of that just Restitution, which they had great Reason to expect and demand.

THIS Year 1618 is likewise memorable, for the Death of two Persons of principal Figure in the *Virginian* History. The first of these was *Powhatan*, Emperor of the *Indians*, a Prince of excellent Sense and Parts, and a great Master of all the Savage Arts of Government and Policy. He was penetrating, crafty, insidious, and cruel; and as hard to be deceived by others, as to be avoided in his own Stratagems and Snares. But as to the great and moral Arts of Policy,

Policy, such as Truth, Faith, Uprightness, and Magnanimity, they seem to have been but little heeded or regarded by him. He was succeeded in his Dominions, according to the regular Order of Succession, by his second Brother, *Opitchapan*; who is sometimes called *Itopatin*, and *Oeatan*. And now upon his Accession to the supreme Power, he again changed his Name to *Sasawpen*, as *Opechancanough* did his to *Mangopeeomen*. Upon what Reason of Custom, or Dignity, or Humour, these Changes were made in their Names, I cannot say; but to avoid Confusion, I shall take no Notice of such nominal Differences, but shall always speak of the same Person by the same Name. *Opitchapan*, being an easy, decrepit, and unactive Prince, was soon obscured by the superior Parts and Ambition of his younger Brother, *Opechancanough*; whose Figure and Activity first drew the Attention, and at last, by degrees, engrossed the whole Power of the Government; altho' for some time, he was content with, and seemed chiefly to affect, the Title of *King of Chickahominy*. However they both renewed and confirmed the League with the *English*; under the Protection of which, every Man peaceably followed his Building and Planting, without any remarkable Accidents or Interruption.

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THE other Person was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Father and first Mover of these *American* Colonies; to whom we owe our Name, as we do our Settlement also to the Prosecution of his Design. In *October* this Year, he ended a Life of much Glory and Adversity, on the Scaffold, to the everlasting Infamy and Reproach of King *James*. For he was a Person of very great Worth, and of a vast and most extensive Genius; being equally fitted, to shine in every Part of Life, or Branch of Art, to which he applied himself. And he was accordingly alike famed, as a Seaman, a Soldier, a Statesman, and a Scholar. He was therefore universally pitied and lamented, and even interceded for by several Princes; by the Queen, Prince *Henry*, the King of *Denmark*, and King of *France*, whose Agent in *England*, even at the last, endeavoured to contrive his Escape. But King *James*, perversely bent on the Wrong, could, by no means, be prevailed upon, to spare the greatest and wisest Head in his Dominions; but shamefully made him a Sacrifice to his darling Dotage, the *Spanish Match*, a Measure weak in itself, but prosecuted and carried on, with still greater Weakness and Indiscretion. But his Death hath been so often deplored and condemned, that I shall not add to the general Complaint any farther, than by making some brief Extracts out of a Letter, preserved by Mr. *Rushworth* in

1618. in his Collections, to shew the shameful Cruelty and Injustice of the Act.

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THIS Letter is written, by a great Minister of State in *England*, to Mr. *Cottington*, afterwards Lord *Cottington*, the *British* Resident at the Court of *Spain*. In it he complains, as by Order from the King, of the Insincerity and Chicanry of the *Spanish* Court in that Affair, and sets forth the upright and sincere Intentions of his Majesty. And he says, that he is particularly commanded by his Majesty, to advertise him of the Execution of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was lately put to Death, chiefly for their Satisfaction, and concerning whom he promises speedily to send a Declaration: That, to please them, his Majesty of late had, in many things, strained upon the Affections of his People; and most especially, in this last of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who died with great Courage and Constancy, and had raised much Remorse and Compassion in the People, who all attributed his Death, to the *Spanish* Machinations, and his Majesty's Desire to do them a Pleasure: And further, he orders him, strongly to insist upon and represent, how able a Man Sir *Walter Raleigh* was to have served his Majesty, if he had been pleased to have employed him: And that yet, to give them Content, he had not spared him, altho' he might, by saving his Life, have given infinite Satisfaction to his People, and have had at Command, upon all Occasions, as useful a Man, as served any Prince in Christendom.

THUS fell one of the last-surviving, and the brightest of all the Commanders, bred under Queen *Elisabeth*, and by her fleshed in *Spanish* Blood and Spoil. And what is the most reproachful Part of it, he fell a Victim to his own great Merit and Abilities, the Memory and Danger of which, to the *Spanish* Nation, had been revived, by his late Expedition to *Guiana*; as also, out of the old Grudge, for his many eminent Services, under his former Royal and illustrious Mistress, Queen *Elisabeth*, and to place him beyond a Possibility of ever rendering the like Services, to King *James* or his Son. As the King's whole Conduct towards him was a strange Medley of Injustice and Inconsistency, so was it smartly observed by his Son, *Carew Raleigh*; That his poor Father was first condemned, for being a Friend to the *Spaniards*, and afterwards lost his Life, by the same Sentence, for being their Enemy. He died, as he had lived, with great Lustre and Honour; with the Charity, Serenity, and Resignation of a Christian, joined to the Magnanimity and intrepid Courage of an old *Roman*.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1619, Sir *George Yeardley* was dispatched and sent Governor, with divers Commissions and Instructions for proceeding against Captain *Argall* in *Virginia*, where the Facts were committed, and where the Proofs, on both Sides, might readily be had. The Earl of *Warwick* and his Faction had violently opposed this, but not being able to prevail, he was obliged to betake himself to other Measures. Mr. *Rolfe's* Commission was either now expired; or else, as I rather believe, he had given Offence to the Company, and was turned out of his Place of Secretary. And this, I find some Reason to suspect, proceeded from his too great Submission and Subserviency to Captain *Argall's* male Practices. But however that was, the Earl of *Warwick* obtained that Place from Sir *Thomas Smith*, for Mr. *John Pory*, who now went over with the Governor. For the Nomination to that Office was a Compliment, made by the Company to their Treasurer; till afterwards the Earl of *Southampton*, in the Time of his Treasurership, returned it back to the Company, and referred it wholly to their Choice. By the Means of this *Pory*, as it was vehemently suspected, the Earl of *Warwick* got the Ship so long stopped and retarded on the Coast of *England*, that he dispatched a small Bark, before from *Plimouth*, to fetch away Captain *Argall*, with all his Goods and Booty. This Bark arriving the Beginning of *April*, Captain *Argall* took immediate Order for his Affairs, and within four or five Days, embarked in her for *England*. He left Captain *Nathaniel Powel* Deputy-Governor; a worthy Gentleman, who had come in at the first with Captain *Smith*, and ever since continued, an honest and useful Inhabitant. But his Government was of very short Duration. For in ten or twelve Days after Captain *Argall's* Departure, Sir *George Yeardley* arrived; and was received with the greater Joy and Welcome, as he brought with him several Charters from the Company, of Grants and Liberties to the Colony. For the honestest Part and Majority of the Company, being alarmed at these late Proceedings, resolved to be more attentive to the Affair, and to prevent all such Exorbitancies for the future. One of these Charters only have I seen, containing Directions to the Governor and Council of State, to lay off Lands for several publick Uses; and likewise confirming Titles, and ascertaining the Methods of obtaining Lands in *Virginia*, and for preventing fraudulent and surreptitious Grants; two of which, of a very extraordinary and inconvenient Nature, had been obtained by Captain *Martin* and Captain *Argall*. But Sir *George Yeardley*, having thus narrowly missed of the Quarry, applied himself to the

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the Affairs of Government. And first he added the following Gentlemen to the Council; Captain *Francis West*, Captain *Nathaniel Powel*, Mr. *John Pory*, Mr. *John Rolfe*, Mr. *William Wickham*, and Mr. *Samuel Macock*. For although Captain *Powel* had been appointed Deputy-Governor, yet was he not of the Council. For, till this time, the Governors, in Case of their Absence, always assumed to themselves the Power of naming their Deputies. Soon after Sir *George* published his Intention, of holding a General Assembly in a short time; which, I suppose, was one of the chief Privileges and Powers, granted and sent over with him. And I likewise find, by an Instrument of Writing to one *Richard Kingsmil*, that he had a Power to grant, and accordingly did grant, to all the ancient Planters, who had been here before Sir *Thomas Dale's* Departure, a full Release and Discharge from all further Service to the Colony, excepting only such Services, as they should willingly undertake, or were bound in Duty to perform by the Laws of all Nations; together with a Confirmation of all their Estates real and personal, in as full and ample Manner, as the Subjects of *England* held and enjoyed them. And this Precaution was undoubtedly occasioned by Captain *Argall's* Rapines, and many personal Impositions on the ancient Planters and Freemen of the Colony.

THE Earl of *Warwick* was highly incensed at these late Proceedings against Captain *Argall*; and finding Sir *Thomas Smith* not stanch, and fit for his Purpose, he pursued, with great Vehemence, the Removal of him and Alderman *Johnson*, the Deputy, from the Government of the Company. Those two Gentlemen had also given much Offence, to the greater and better Part of the Adventurers; and lay under a strong Suspicion, as well of Negligence in their Office, as of Collusion and unfair Dealing. Sir *Thomas Smith* too himself, being far advanced in Years, of tender Health, and very rich, was willing to surrender a Place, of so great Trouble and Fatigue, and so little fair Profit. And therefore, being already Governor of the *East-India* Company, and lately appointed a Commissioner of his Majesty's Navy, he declared, at a Quarter Court, held the 28th of *April*, that he was unable to give that Attendance, which he desired, and which the Affairs of the Company demanded; and for that reason, requested the Favour of them, to be discharged from his Office. And altho' he was afterwards named by some to be a Candidate, yet he was fixed in his Resolution, and absolutely refused to stand in Election. In his Room, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Wolstenholme*, and Alderman *Johnson*, were proposed; and the Choice fell on Sir

Sir *Edwin Sandys*, he having fifty nine Voices, Sir *John Wolstenholme* twenty three, and Alderman *Johnson* eighteen. Sir *Edwin* was a Gentleman of *Kent*, and a Member of Parliament; a Person of excellent Understanding and Judgment; of great Industry, Vigor, and Resolution; and indefatigable in his Application to the Business of the Company and Colony. He had, before this, on Account of his Industry and Knowledge of their Affairs, been often joined, by the Courts, with Sir *Thomas Smith*, in the Management of several weighty things, relating to the Colony. So that scarce any thing, whilst he was in Town, passed without him. But he afterwards complained, that what was done, during his Abode in Town, was commonly undone, when he was absent in the Country. Mr. *John Farrar*, an eminent Merchant of *London*, with a like Majority, was chosen Deputy-Treasurer; a worthy Second to Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and every way fit for the Post, conferred upon him.

BUT not to cast off an old Servant with Disregard, who had, in the Time of greatest Trouble and Difficulty, continued above twelve Years in the principal Office of the Company, at the Motion of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, twenty great Shares, or two thousand Acres of Land, were bestowed, as a Gratuity, upon Sir *Thomas Smith*. But there was not the least Notice taken, or Reward given, to Alderman *Johnson*. And these Alterations in the Government of the Company gave not only much Satisfaction in *England*, but were also received with great Joy in *Virginia*; where the old Officers had been long and bitterly exclaimed against, by the general Voice of the Colony. But the Earl of *Warwick* was so far from gaining by the Change, that he had now a Person of much greater Honour and Integrity, and a Gentleman of principal Figure and Interest in the Nation, to oppose his Schemes and Designs. For altho' Sir *Edwin Sandys* was much wronged in the Execution of his Office, and even sought to be deterred by Threats of Blood, yet they could no way turn him, from a vigorous Prosecution and Enquiry into the late Disorders in *Virginia*. At the Expiration of Sir *Thomas Smith's* Government, after fourscore thousand Pounds Expence and twelve Years Labour, the Colony consisted of about six hundred Persons, Men, Women, and Children. And they had about three hundred Head of Cattle, some Goats, and infinite Numbers of Hogs, both wild and tame. But all the Company's Lands and Plantations were utterly ruined and depopulated by Captain *Argall*, there being only three Tenants left thereon, and six Men of what he called his Guard. And notwithstanding Sir *Thomas Smith's* Boast, that he had left

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1619. left four thousand Pounds, for the new Treasurer to proceed upon, yet it was found, upon Examination, that the Company was above that Sum in Debt. However Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and all the founder and more publick-spirited Part of the Company, applied themselves, with a laudable Diligence and Industry, to reform the Abuses, and by all the Methods, they could devise, to set forward and advance the Plantation.

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SIR *George Yeardley*, upon his Arrival in *Virginia*, finding a great Scarcity of Corn, made it his first Care to supply that Defect. And therefore he wrote to the Treasurer and Company in *England*, to excuse him, if he made not such Returns in Tobacco, this Year, as might be expected. For he was determined, by the Blessing of God, to raise such a plentiful Crop of Corn, that the Colony should not, in haste, be in any further Danger of Want. And about the latter End of *June*, he called the first General Assembly, that was ever held in *Virginia*. Counties were not yet laid off, but they elected their Representatives by Townships. So that the Burroughs of *James-Town*, *Henrico*, *Bermuda Hundred*, and the rest, each sent their Members to the Assembly. And hence it is, that our Lower House of Assembly was first called the House of Burgesses, a Name proper to the Representatives of Burroughs or Towns; and it hath, by Custom, ever since retained that Appellation, altho' the Burgesses, or Members for Towns and Corporations, are very few and inconsiderable at present, in Comparison of the Representatives for Counties. Mr. *Beverley* says, they sat in the same House with the Governor and Council, after the Manner of the *Scotch* Parliament; and we are told by *Smith*, that they debated all Matters, thought expedient for the Good of the Colony. The Acts of this General Assembly were remitted to *England*, and presented to the Company, to be read in their Court, the 20th of *March* following. For the Company then had the regal Power of confirming, or disannulling our Acts of Assembly. I can no where find, among the Records now extant, any Account of the Particulars, that passed. Only Sir *Edwin Sandys*, upon Perusal of them, assures the Company, that they were very well and judiciously formed; but they were very intricate, and difficult to be reduced into distinct and proper Heads.

HOWEVER we may be certain of this happy Effect, that by the Introduction of the *British* Form of Government, by Way of Parliament or Assembly, the People were again restored to their Birthright, the Enjoyment of *British* Liberty; and that most grievous and oppressive Custom of
Trial

Trial by Martial Law was thereby, if not at once, yet by Degrees, entirely banished and abolished. It is true indeed, that before, both by the Royal Charters, and by all other Law and Reason, the *English*, transplanted hither, had a Right to all the Liberties and Privileges of *English* Subjects. And certainly no Person, in his Senses, would have left the Liberty of *England*, to come hither (in order to improve the Commerce, and increase the Riches of the Nation) to a State of Slavery; when without that, it was natural to suppose, that they must undergo much Hardship and Labour. Yet by the Necessity of the Times, by the Ignorance of the People, and by the Oppression and Tyranny of Governors, they had, thus far, been deprived of that their native Right. But with the *English* Form of Government, the *English* Liberty again revived and flourished; and together with the Nation, they now transplanted and diffused into *America* their most happy Constitution. From this Time therefore, we may most properly date the Original of our present Constitution, by Governor, Council, and Burgesses; which altho' defective perhaps in some material Points, yet comes so near to the excellent Model of the *English* Government, that it must be the hearty Prayer and Desire of all true Lovers of their Country, that it may long flourish among us and improve. For this happy Change, we are chiefly indebted to the Change of the Officers and Governors of the Company in *England*, and to the Activity and Attention of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and many other worthy Members of the Company, to the Affairs of the Colony.

THIS Summer, they laid off four new Corporations; which encreased the Number of their Burroughs, that had Right to send Members to the Assembly, to eleven in all. And *Japazaws*, the King of *Patowmack*, came to *James-Town*, and invited the *English* into his River to trade; for a more plentiful Year of Corn had not been known, in a long time. But Captain *Ward*, being sent thither, was treacherously dealt with by the Natives; and the thing coming to open Hostility, he took from them eight hundred Bushels by Force, and so returned to *James-Town*. One Captain *Stallings*, this Year, had the Misfortune, first to have his Ship cast away, and not long after to be slain, in a private Quarrel, by *William Eppes*. And the whole Colony laboured under so great a Mortality, that no less than three hundred of the Inhabitants died within the Year. But in Mitigation of this, they had the most plentiful Crop of Grain, that had ever yet been raised, since the first Plantation of the Country. And indeed the Company received such an Account of it, as will not easily gain Credit; which

1619. I therefore leave entirely to the Reader's good Pleasure, to believe or disbelieve, as he thinks fit ; neither should I have related it, had I not found it authentically recorded, in the Company's Journals. For by Letters from *Virginia*, they were informed, that they had had two Harvests of Wheat, the first being shaken by the Wind, and producing a second ; and their Ground was so extraordinary fat and good, that they planted *Indian* Corn upon the Stubble, and had an excellent Crop of that. But it must be remembered, that rare-ripe Corn was the Corn of those Times, and that they usually had two Crops of it in a Year.

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WHILST things were in this State in *Virginia*, Sir *Edwin Sandys* was, by no means, idle or negligent of his Charge in *England*. For turning the whole Bent of his Thoughts, towards the Improvement and Furtherance of this noble Enterprize, he got a Committee appointed, consisting of Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Edward Harwood*, and divers other Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens, as well for compiling and reducing the standing Rules and Orders, for the Government of their own Company, into one entire Body, as more especially for constituting Laws, and settling a Form of Government for *Virginia*, appointing Magistrates and Officers, and declaring their several Functions and Duties. And this was one of the chief Powers and Injunctions of his Majesty's Letters patent and Instructions to the Company. As to the former Part, concerning the Government of themselves, it was easily brought to a tolerable Head. But the latter being a vast Design, of very great Weight and Difficulty, and comprehending no less, than a Project for rearing, constituting, and forming a compleat Commonwealth, in all its Parts, it never could, notwithstanding Sir *Edwin Sandys's* great Pains and Diligence, be brought to any satisfactory Conclusion. So that *Virginia* was left to the best Means of forming its Government ; that is to say, to work after the *English* Plan, with the Assistance of Time and Experience, and the united Sense and Endeavours of its Representatives and Officers of State.

THE King had formerly issued his Letters to the several Bishops of the Kingdom, for collecting Money, to erect and build a College in *Virginia*, for the training up and educating Infidel Children in the true Knowledge of God. And accordingly, there had been already paid near fifteen hundred Pounds towards it, and more was expected to come in. For besides other Particulars, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, upon some Conference with the Bishop of *Litchfield*, found, that he had never heard of any Collection in his Diocese ; but he promised, as soon as he should have a Warrant, to further

ther so good a Design, with the utmost Diligence. Sir *Edwin* therefore recommended it to the Company, as a thing most worthy of their Consideration, both for the Glory of God, and their own Honour. And he told them, that it was an Affair of that Weight and Dignity, that they must expect to render an Account of their Proceedings to the State; and that Negligence therein could never escape publick Notice and Censure, especially of those, who had generously contributed towards it. He therefore had Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Sir *John Wolstenholme*, Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, Dr. *Anthony*, and Dr. *Gulstone*, appointed a Committee, to meet, as he should order and direct, and to consult thereupon. And he likewise moved and obtained, that ten thousand Acres of Land should be laid off for the University at *Henrico*, a Place formerly resolved on for that Purpose. This was intended, as well for the College for the Education of *Indians*, as also to lay the Foundation of a Seminary of Learning for the *English*. In Consequence of these Resolves, Sir *Edwin* procured fifty Men to be sent this Summer, and fifty more the Beginning of the next Year, to be seated on these College Lands, as Tenants at Halves. They were to have half the Profit of their Labour to themselves, and the other half was to go, towards forwarding the Building, and the Maintenance of the Tutors and Scholars. And as a Man's Labour was then computed at ten Pounds *Sterling* a Year, it was intended, hereby to establish an annual Revenue of five hundred Pounds, for this good and pious Work. Mr. *George Thorpe* also, a Kinsman of Sir *Thomas Dale's*, being a Gentleman of his Majesty's Privy Chamber, and one of the Council in *England* for *Virginia*, accepted of the Place, and was sent over the next Spring, as the Company's Deputy and Superintendent for the College. And for his Entertainment and Support, they granted three hundred Acres of Land, to be for ever annexed and belonging to that Place, with ten Tenants thereon.

IN a great and general Quarter Court of the Company, held in *November* this Year, Sir *Edwin Sandys* told them, that his Duty and Inclination running equally for the Advancement of this good Action, he had many things to lay before them. And accordingly, he reminded them, that the Maintenance of the Publick, in all States, was of no less Importance, even for the Benefit of private Men, than the Root and Body of a Tree are to the particular Branches. And he recalled to their Remembrance, how by the admirable Care and Diligence of two worthy Knights, Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dale*, the publick Estate and Revenue of the Company had been set forward, in a Way to great Perfection: That the former, Sir *Thomas Gates*, had

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the Honour to all Posterity, to be the first named, in his Majesty's Patent and Grant of *Virginia*, and was also the first, that by his Wisdom, Industry, and Valour, accompanied with exceeding Pains and Patience, in the Midst of many Difficulties, had laid the Foundation of the present prosperous State of the Colony: And the latter, Sir *Thomas Dale*, building upon those Foundations, with great and constant Severity, had reclaimed, almost miraculously, those idle and dissolute Persons, and reduced them to Labour and an honest Fashion of Life: That proceeding with great Zeal for the good of the Company; he had laid off publick Lands, to yield them a standing Revenue; placed Servants thereon, as also upon other publick Works, for the Company's Use; established an annual Rent of Corn from the Farmers, and of Tribute from the Barbarians; together with a great Stock of Cattle, Goats, and other Animals: That this had since been the Occasion of drawing so many private Plantations, to seat in *Virginia*; upon Hope and Promise of Plenty of Corn and Cattle, to be lent them by the Publick, for their Ease and Benefit, at their first Arrival: But that since their Times, all this publick Provision had been utterly laid waste and destroyed: And that besides, for about an hundred Persons, which appeared to have been sent, at the Company's Charge, within the two or three last Years, Sir *George Yeardley* wrote Word, that, at his Arrival, only three could be found, remaining to the Publick:

THAT as to the Means and Causes of these Dilapidations, he doubted not, but that hereafter, in due time, they would be made fully manifest; but that he forbore, at present to touch upon them, lest he should, by Glance of Speech, give Offence to any Person present (for Captain *Argall*, the known Author thereof, was then in Court) But as to the Remedies of these Mischiefs, he related to them, what Methods had been already taken. For whereas, not much above three Years before, there had been remitted from *Virginia* twelve several Commodities, sold openly in Court, to the great Honour of the Action, and Encouragement of the Adventurers; yet since that time, there had been little returned, worth speaking of, except Tobacco and Sassafras; to which the People there applied themselves so entirely, that they would have been reduced to the Necessity of starving, the last Year, had not the Magazine supplied them with Corn and Cattle from *England*: That this had been the Occasion of stopping and discouraging many Hundreds of People, who were providing to remove themselves thither: That frequent Letters had therefore been sent, from the Council there to the Governor in *Virginia*, to restrain that immoderate planting of Tobacco,
 and

and to cause the People to apply themselves to other and better Commodities: And that he had also, by the Advice and Consent of the Council, and according to an Order now to be proposed, caused to be drawn a new Covenant, to be inserted in all future Grants of Land, that the Patentees should not apply themselves, wholly, or chiefly, to Tobacco, but to other Commodities, therein specified; an Example whereof they would now see, in a Patent, lying before them for their Approbation.

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BUT altho' they had been, by no means, negligent in these Affairs, yet he said, that his principal Care and Study had been employed, to set up again and restore the publick Stock and Revenue, to as great, or a greater Degree of Perfection, than they had heretofore been at. And to that End, he recounted, how three thousand Acres of Land had been laid off, for the Governor; twelve thousand for the Company; and ten thousand, for the University at *Henrico*. And that seventy two Persons had already been placed on the Company's Land, fifty three on the Governor's, and fifty on the College's; an hundred and seventy five in all. But not content with this, he told them, that he had still some farther Propositions to make to them.

AND first, he proposed to them, that these Tenants for the publick might, the next Spring, be encreased to the Number of three hundred; an hundred for the Company's Land, an hundred for the College, and an hundred for the Governor, who should be obliged, at the Expiration of his Office, to leave the same Number to his Successor; which would thereby raise a standing Revenue of a thousand Pounds a Year, and ease the Company of all further Expence for his Provision and Entertainment. And whereas Care had been, and still should be taken, during his Office, to send over to these Lands, divers staid and discreet Persons, he proposed, in the second Place, that an hundred Boys and Girls, of about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, might be sent to be their Servants and Apprentices; in the Charge whereof, he hoped, that the honourable City of *London* would partake with the Company, as they had formerly done. And because he understood, that the People in *Virginia*, tho' seated there in their Persons for some few Years, yet were not settled in their Minds, nor intended to make it their Place of Rest and Continuance, but proposed, after having got some Wealth, to return again to *England*, which tended to the utter Overthrow and Dissolution of the Plantation; he therefore advised, and made it his third Proposition, that there should be sent over one hundred Maids, young and uncorrupt, to make Wives for the Inhabitants;

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that Wives, Children, and Families, might render them less moveable, and fix and settle them, together with their Posterity, in that Soil: And that such of these Maids, as were married to the publick Farmers, should be transported at the Company's Expence; but if any were married to others, that then those, who took them to Wife, should repay the Company their Charges of Transportation. And in Consequence of this Proposition, ninety Maids were accordingly sent the following Spring. As to the Manner of transporting these Persons, to make up five hundred in all for the Publick, he proposed, in the fourth Place, that they should not hire Shipping, as heretofore, since each Ship, at its Return, in bare Freight and Wages, emptied the publick Cash of eight hundred, and sometimes a thousand Pounds; but that they should, as he had already done this present Year, take the Advantage of the Ships trading to *Newfoundland*, and so transport them, at six Pounds a Person, without any after Reckonings. Fifthly, he proposed, the sending twenty Heifers, for every hundred Tenants, threescore in the whole; which, with their Breed, might soon raise them a tolerable Stock; and which he had Hopes of having transported, taking the Opportunity of Shipping in the *Western* Parts, at ten Pounds a Head, to be delivered in *Virginia*.

LASTLY, as to the Charges, he observed to them, that there never could be a more proper Time, for such large Transportations, than the present; Corn being so exceedingly cheap and plentiful at home, and there being, by their Advices from *Virginia*, so great Promises of an excellent Crop there. And he also shewed, how much the Company was bound to give Thanks to Almighty God, for all his Blessings, who continually raised Means, to support and carry on this great Work; and he particularly mentioned one unknown Gentleman alone, who promised five hundred Pounds, on Demand, for the Conversion and Education of threescore *Indian* Children; and that he had likewise, upon his Letters, received Assurance from sundry Parts, and some of them very remote, that if they proceeded with the Undertaking, they should not want for Money. But not to rely upon such precarious Funds and Hopes, he related to them, particularly, the several Ways and Means, by which the Money would arise. And he estimated the whole Charge, at four thousand Pounds, to be done sparingly; and bountifully, at five thousand. He also promised, not to leave the Company one Penny in Debt, for any Act or Thing, to be performed within his Year; and that he would moreover discharge three thousand Pounds of former Debts,

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Debts, according to the Stock, left at the time of his coming to his Place. And these things done, he hoped, the Publick would again be fully restored, a Foundation laid for a future great State, the Adventurers and Planters well comforted and encouraged, and all Matter of Scandal and Reproach to them and the Enterprize removed. And so he concluded, by recommending these Points to their most serious Consideration, and the whole Enterprize to the Blessing of Almighty God. These Propositions, which had been before made in two several Courts, and were now repeated at the particular Desire of some noble Lords present, were received with that Applause, they well deserved; and they passed, upon the Question, with an unanimous Approbation, altho' Sir *John Wolfenbolme*, in a former Court, had made some vain Exceptions against them. And Sir *Edwin Sandys*, with an extreme Care and Diligence, saw them all afterwards put effectually into Execution.

BUT besides these reputable People, to be transported at the Company's Charge, the Treasurer and Council received a Letter from his Majesty, commanding them, forthwith to send away to *Virginia* an hundred dissolute Persons, which Sir *Edward Zouch*, the Knight Marshal, would deliver to them. In Obedience to his Majesty's Command, it was resolved, to send them over with all Conveniency, to be Servants, which Mr. Treasurer understood, would be very acceptable to the Colony. But as it was *November*, and Shipping, at that Season, not easily procured, it was thought they could not be sent off before *January* at soonest. But to satisfy his Majesty, the Company agreed to be at the Expence of their Maintenance, in the mean while. The Treasurer was therefore desired, to deliver this their Answer to his Majesty, by Secretary *Calvert*. But he was told, that the King's Command was urgent, and admitted no Delay; and that fifty, at least, must with all Speed be shipped off. And notwithstanding his just Representations, how great Inconveniency and Expence would thence accrue to the Company; that they could not well go in less than four Ships, left, being so many together, they should mutiny, and run away with the Vessel; that those four Ships, to be got thus suddenly, without taking Advantage of the Vessels trading to *America*, would not stand the Company in less than four thousand Pounds; and that, notwithstanding all, Ships were not to be procured so speedily, at that Time of the Year. Yet nothing, he could alledge, giving Satisfaction, the Company were obliged to appoint a Committee of the Deputy and other select Merchants, to employ all their Endeavours, for compassing Shipping, with all possible Speed.

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THOSE, who are acquainted with History, and know, with how high and magisterial a Hand, this King sometimes carried it, even with his Parliaments, will not be surpris'd, to find him thus unmercifully insult a private Company, and load them, against all Law, with the Maintenance and extraordinary Expence of transporting such Persons, as he thought proper to banish; and that perhaps, without any colourable Pretext, or sufficient Warrant of Law at that time. And I cannot but remark, how early that Custom arose, of transporting loose and dissolute Persons to *Virginia*, as a Place of Punishment and Disgrace; which altho' originally design'd for the Advancement and Increase of the Colony, yet has certainly proved a great Prejudice and Hindrance to it's Growth. For it hath laid one of the finest Countries in *British America*, under the unjust Scandal of being a mere Hell upon Earth, another *Siberia*, and only fit for the Reception of Malefactors and the vilest of the People. So that few People, at least few large Bodies of People, have been induced, willingly to transport themselves to such a Place; and our younger Sisters, the Northern Colonies, have accordingly profited thereby. For this is one Cause, that they have outstripped us so much, in the Number of their Inhabitants, and in the Goodness and Frequency of their Cities and Towns.

HIS Majesty had, by his Letters patent, bearing Date the 23d of *May* 1609, granted the Company a "Freedom" from all Custom and Subsidy, for twenty one Years, excepting only five *per Cent.* upon all such Goods and Merchandises, as should be imported into *England*, or any other of his Majesty's Dominions, according to the "ancient Trade of Merchants." Notwithstanding this, which was intended for the Ease and Encouragement of the Infant Colony, the Farmers of the Customs, upon a general Rate made of Tobacco, both *Spanish* and *Virginia*, at ten Shillings the Pound, demanded six Pence a Pound, equally upon all; altho' *Spanish* Tobacco was usually sold at eighteen Shillings a Pound, and sometimes more, and *Virginia* would seldom bear above three or four Shillings. Mr. *Jacob* also, Farmer of the Impost upon Tobacco, did most oppressively impose another six Pence a Pound, contrary to the clear and indubitable Tenor of his Majesty's Grant. And the Company, in *June* this Year, importing twenty thousand Weight, the whole Crop of the former Year,

Year, had delivered it all into the Custom-House, as they were required, that the Tobacco might be weighed, and the Custom answered. But Mr. *Jacob*, of his own Authority, stopped and seized the Tobacco, till that Impost of six Pence a Pound should be discharged. And this also will soon be perceived by those, who are any thing versed in the History of those Times, to be entirely consonant to the Behaviour of the Customers then; whose Insolence and arbitrary Proceedings, supported by the Royal Authority, and even encreased and carried to a greater Height in the next Reign, was one of the chief and most visible Causes of the general Discontent of the Nation, and of the unhappy Civil War, which ensued.

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THE Company, being thus wronged and abused, applied themselves to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, and obtained their Letter to Mr. *Jacob*, to deliver the Tobacco, upon their entering into Bond to pay him, whatsoever should appear to be his due, upon Certificate from his Majesty's learned Council, within a Month. But *Jacob* rejecting this, and all other Conditions offered by the Company, and likewise exacting twelve Pence a Pound at *Plymouth*, upon the *Somer-Islands* Tobacco, it was resolved to try the Strength of their Charter, and to enter an Action against him for the Damage, which was already computed at two thousand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*. But afterwards, considering, that their Commodity was very perishable, and that their Suit could not be determined that *Michaelmas* Term, they altered their Method of Proceeding, and by the Advice of a great Lord of the Privy Council to Sir *Edwin Sandys*, they brought the Matter before the Council Board; where, upon the Attorney-General's delivering his Opinion clearly, that the Company, by their Letters patent, were free from all Imposition, and after some Delay and Chicanry of Mr. *Jacob*, it was ordered, upon a full Hearing of the Allegations on both Sides, that he should deliver the Tobacco to the Company, paying all lawful Duties appertaining thereto. And thus, at length, they regained their Goods out of the Hands of this Harpy; but were obliged to sit silently by the great Loss and Damage, occasioned partly, by impairing it's Worth through Drying and other Corruption, and partly by the Fall of the Price, upon the Sale of *English* Tobacco, made since it's Importation. To which was added the daily Expectation of more, both from *Virginia* and the *Somer-Islands*, which rendered the Market so mean and dead, that they were sadly puzzled and perplexed, how to dispose of it. And at last, after many Schemes and Efforts to raise the Price, they were

1619. obliged to sell it very low, and were considerable Losers by it.

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IT was one peculiar Mark and Property of this Family of our Kings, that they were always craving, and for ever poor and in Want, notwithstanding the frequent Contributions of the People, to some of them especially; the Reasons of which, it lies not within my Province at present, to open and explain. And accordingly King *James*, notwithstanding his natural Antipathy to Tobacco, began now to taste the Sweetness of the Revenue, arising from it; and was therefore very ill satisfied, with this Determination of the Privy Council. For in the very Beginning of the next Year, within a Month after, under Colour, that some *Spanish* Tobacco had sold at twenty Shillings a Pound, he demanded of the Company twelve pence a Pound, Custom and Impost, for theirs. But it was unanimously agreed, to stand resolutely upon the Privilege of their Charter, which they could not give up or betray, without the greatest Breach of their Trust and Duty. And therefore, as *Virginia* Tobacco had never been actually sold for more, than five Shillings a Pound, but generally much lower, they submitted to pay three Pence a Pound Custom, which was full five *per Cent.* on their highest Price. But however, to avoid all Contest with the King, as his Majesty had given Order for prohibiting, by Proclamation, the planting *English* Tobacco, for five Years ensuing, they agreed, in Return to that his Majesty's Favour, during the said Term of five Years, if the Proclamation took Effect, and continued so long, to add nine Pence a Pound more, and thereby to make it up twelve Pence; which was the Full of his Majesty's Demand, tho' not in the same Form. But it was conceived, unless this Offer, and the true Meaning thereof, should be entered, as an Act, in the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury's Books, it would be very difficult, at the Expiration of the five Years, to withdraw the Payment, but continuing so long, it might be demanded for ever, as due from the Company to the King. They therefore appointed a Committee, to repair to the Clerk of the Council, and to take Care, that this Bargain be exactly recorded, and also to procure a Copy of the said Record, to be entered in the Company's Journals. But as to the Farm of the Impost on Tobacco, the Refusal whereof the King, at the same time, offered them, they held it inconvenient at present to be undertaken; but not entirely to reject his Majesty's Offer, they permitted some of their Society, to join for a Part, in the Company's Name, but in reality, for their own proper Use and Behoof.

THE Trade of *Virginia* had been thus far restrained, and kept in the Adventurers Hands, except a few Interlopers, that straggled in by Chance; and the Method of carrying on this Trade was thus. Every Adventurer, that pleased, subscribed, what he thought proper, to a Roll; which Money, together with a certain Sum perhaps, contributed out of the publick Cash of the Company, made their Capital or Stock. With this they bought Goods, and sent them to the Cape-Merchant in *Virginia*, who had, long before this, lost his original Office of being Keeper of the publick Storehouses, and was become the Company's chief Factor. The Cape-Merchant, having sold these Goods to the Inhabitants, for Tobacco or other Commodities, remitted the Effects to *England*. This Society for Trade, called the Magazine, was a distinct Body from the publick Company; but always under its Controle, as it received its Being and Authority from the Company, and as the Joint-Stock of the Company was always the greatest and principal Adventurer in it. Alderman *Johnson* had ever been at the Head of this Magazine, under the Title of Director; and since the Removal of himself and Sir *Thomas Smith* from their Offices, it had been the Subject of much Faction and Discord. For they had made many Difficulties, in submitting to the Orders of the Company, concerning the Place of their Meetings; had neglected to bring their Accounts to an Audit, tho' very clear and fairly kept; and had delayed and kept off the making any Dividend; which things had caused much Disturbance and Dissension. To remove therefore such a Block of Offence, it was now agreed to dissolve this Magazine, and to leave the Trade free and open to all; only with this Proviso, that the Goods of the Magazine, then upon hand in *Virginia*, should be first sold off, before any of the same Kinds should be vended.

BUT the Diligence, Vigor, and Fidelity of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and of others of the Company, had now raised the Reputation of the Action very high. And accordingly there had been presented, by an unknown Person, the former Year, a Communion Cup, with a Cover and Case, a Trencher Plate for the Bread, a Carpet of Crimson Velvet, and a Damask Table-Cloth, for the Use of the College; and another had given a fair Set of Plate, with other rich Ornaments, to Mrs. *Mary Robinson's* Church, who had, the Year before, bequeathed two hundred Pounds, towards the Building of it. And now, in the Beginning of this Year, another unknown Person sent five hundred Pounds, directed; To Sir *Edwin Sandys*, the faithful Treasurer of *Virginia*. This was for the Maintenance of a convenient

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Number of young *Indians*, from seven or under, to twelve Years of Age, to be instructed in Reading and the Principles of the Christian Religion; and then to be trained and brought up in some lawful Trade, with all Gentleness and Humanity, till they attained the Age of twenty one; and after that, to have and enjoy the like Liberties and Privileges, with the native *English* in *Virginia*: And he likewise sent fifty Pounds, to be given into the Hands of two religious and worthy Persons, who should, every Quarter, examine and certify, to the Treasurer in *England*, the due Execution of this Design, together with the Names of the Children, and of their Tutors and Overseers. This Charity, the Company thought not proper, to entrust to private Hands, but committed the Management of it to *Smith's* Hundred chiefly. This lay in the Parts above *Hampton*, up into *Warwick*, and was so called, in Honour to Sir *Thomas Smith*. But after this, Sir *Thomas*, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and the rest of that Faction, sold out their Shares in this, and other private Plantations, and only reserved their Part in the Company's publick Stock, in order to be present; and to have a Vote at their Courts. Wherefore, this was afterwards changed to the Name of *Southampton* Hundred; either in Honour to the Earl of *Southampton*, their next Treasurer, or rather, as that Nobleman became the chief Adventurer in the Plantation. And further, for the better procuring and retaining the *Indian* Children, the Company ordered a Treaty and Agreement to be made with *Opechancanough*, and authorised Sir *George Yeadley*, to make him such Presents, out of the Magazine, as would be most grateful to him, and best promote the Design. Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, the Elder (Father, as I take it, to the present and succeeding Deputy-Treasurer of the Company) also bequeathed three hundred Pounds, for converting Infidel Children in *Virginia*. He ordered this to be paid into the Hands of Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Mr. *John Farrar*, at such time, as it should appear by Certificate, that ten *Indian* Children were placed in the College; and then, by them to be disposed of, according to his true Intent and Meaning. And in the mean time, he obliged his Executors to pay eight *per Cent.* for the Money, to be given to three several honest Men in *Virginia*, of good Life and Fame, and such as Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Mr. *John Farrar* should approve of, each to bring up one of the said Children, in the Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion.

THERE was, at this time, a great Scarcity of Clergy in *Virginia*; there being but five Ministers and eleven Burroughs, each of which, being some very distant from each other,

other, was erected into a distinct Parish. The Company indeed had before, in their Charter by Sir *George Yeardley*, taken Care of a handsome Provision for the Clergy. For they had ordered an hundred Acres of Land, in each of the Burroughs, to be laid off for a Glebe; and that there should, for their further Maintenance, be raised a standing and certain Revenue, out of the Profits of each Parish, so as to make every Living, at least two hundred Pounds *Sterling* a Year. And this Stipend I find, two Years after, settled in the following Manner: That the Minister should receive Yearly fifteen hundred Weight of Tobacco, and sixteen Barrels of Corn, which was then estimated at two hundred Pounds *Sterling*: That this should be raised by ten Pounds of Tobacco and a Bushel of Corn a Head, for every labouring Man or Boy, above sixteen Years of Age; provided, it did not exceed fifteen hundred Weight of Tobacco and sixteen Barrels of Corn: But if any Plantation was not able, to make up that Quantity, by ten Pounds of Tobacco and a Bushel of Corn a Head, that, in such Case, the Minister should be contented with less, according to the Number of Tithables. And now, for a farther Encouragement, that pious, learned, and painful Ministers might be invited to go over, the Company ordered six Tenants to be placed on each of those Glebes, at the publick Expence; and they applied to the Bishop of *London*, for his Help and Assistance in procuring proper Ministers, which his Lordship readily promised, and undoubtedly performed. For he had ever been a great Favourer and Promoter of the Plantation, and had himself alone collected and paid in a thousand Pounds towards the College; which he would not permit the Company to diminish, by a Present to his Register, who had been very active and useful in the Collection. And for this, and other his Deserts towards them, he was made free of the Company, and chosen one of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*.

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As the Country was very defenceless and unfortified, and as the Interests and Improvements of the Inhabitants were now much encreased, and become considerable, they began to grow uneasy in that Particular; and they wrote to the Treasurer and Company in *England*, to procure them skilful Engineers, to raise Fortifications; promising, themselves to bear the Charge of it. Wherefore, to give them present Satisfaction, and as regular Fortifications, to endure Assault and Battery, were not so needful, as the chusing and improving some Places of natural Strength and Advantage, Sir *Thomas Gates* was entreated by the Company, as well in Regard of his military Skill, as of his Knowledge of the

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the Country, to write them his private Letters of Advice and Direction. And he was also desired, together with Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, to confer with General *Cecil* about it, another eminent and military Member of their Society, and youngest Son to the famous Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, who likewise promised, if other Methods failed, to write them such particular Directions and Instructions, that they might easily themselves proceed. To them was afterwards added Sir *Horatio Vere*, who was esteemed the Person of the greatest military Skill and Reputation of any in that unwarlike Age. He was therefore, this Summer, sent Commander of the single Regiment, which King *James*, in his great Wisdom, thought fit to furnish out, for the Relief and Support of his distressed Son in Law, the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. For altho' General *Cecil* had been first designed for that Service, yet he was afterwards laid aside, and this Gentleman appointed in his Room.

THE Governor and Council, in *Virginia*, had settled and allowed certain Fees to the Secretary, which were, this Year, sent to *England* for Confirmation. But the Treasurer and Company were become, from the late Exactions, very jealous and cautious in that Point; and did moreover judge those Fees to be very oppressive and intolerable. And therefore, for the Ease of the Colony, they declared, that the Secretary should receive no Fees at all; but in Recompence of all Services, they allotted five hundred Acres of Land, for him and his Successors, with twenty Tenants thereon. This was laid off on the *Eastern Shore*, and the Grant was afterwards enlarged. But whereas Captain *Argall*, in the time of his Suspension from the Place of Admiral, had deputed *Abraham Peirse*, the Cape-Merchant, to be his Vice-Admiral, the Company declared that Deputation, to be utterly void and unlawful, and committed the Execution of that Office, to the Governor and Council of State, and to such under them, as they should authorize and appoint.

THERE had been many scandalous Reports spread (as was intimated in a private Letter to Mr. *Bland*, a very considerable Merchant of the Company) of the Barrenness and Infertility of the Soil in *Virginia*. And it also had been one especial Piece of Captain *Argall's* Policy, in order to dishearten and disgrace the Company, to vilify the Country, both by himself and his Engines, and to represent it as less fertile, than the most barren arable Lands in *England*. And altho' these Aspersions were sufficiently contradicted by his own former Letters and Reports, yet, for a fuller Answer to them, a Commission was sent to *Virginia*, and a Return made

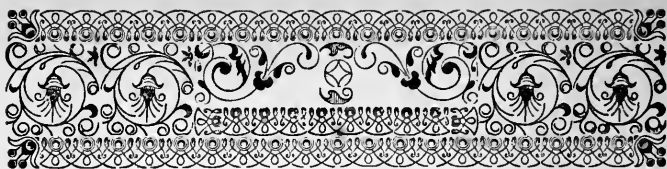
made upon Oath, of the Strength and Goodness of the Soil.

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But as Malice is more industrious than Truth, these unjust Scandals prevailed but too much, and discouraged many Adventurers from making their Transportations. To obviate therefore all such ill Consequences, it was resolved upon the Motion, and committed to the Care, of Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Dr. *Winstone*, to prepare and publish a small Book, containing a Refutation of all such slanderous Reports; and to adjoin, at the End, an alphabetical Index of the Adventurers Names. This last had a double Use. For, in the first Place, it did great Honour to the Enterprize, by shewing, that many of the chief Persons in the Nation, for Wisdom, Fortune, and Dignity, were deeply concerned in, and great Encouragers of it. And next, as this Index was drawn from Sir *Thomas Smith's* Books, which were very carelessly kept and incorrect, it gave the Alarm to all such, as had paid in their Monies to him, and found themselves omitted in this List. And it accordingly made them bring in his Receipts, or Bills of Adventure; whereby many Sums of Money appeared to have been received by him, which could otherwise never have been made out by his Books, or proved by any other Method.

Sir *George*
Yeardley,
Governor.





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
V I R G I N I A.

B O O K I V.

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Yeadley,
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THE Time of Sir *Edwin Sandys's* Office being expired, there was held a great and general Quarter Court of Election, at Mr. Deputy *Farrar's* House, in *St. Sithe's Lane*, on the 17th of *May*, consisting of three Earls, one Viscount, four Lords, thirty Knights, several Doctors and Esquires, and largely above an hundred other Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens. To this splendid Meeting, Sir *Edwin Sandys* made a long and very handsome Speech, laying before them the State of their Affairs, at the time of his Accession to the Office of Treasurer, and then. In this he was naturally led to set forth, as well the Negligence and bad Government at home, as particularly the vast Loss and Damage, which the Company had sustained, in the Time of their Deputy Governor, Captain *Argall*. And he informed them, that there had, within his Year, been set out eight Ships at the Company's Expence, and four others by private Adventurers; and that these Ships had transported twelve hundred and sixty one Persons, whereof six hundred and fifty were for the publick Use, and the other six hundred and eleven for private Plantations. He also gave them an Account of the several Gifts, which had been made, this Year, for pious Uses; and of the many Patents, that had passed to various private Adventurers and their Associates, who had under-

undertaken, to transport to *Virginia* great Multitudes of People, with much Cattle. And he recounted to them the several Methods, which had been taken, to draw the People off from their greedy and immoderate Pursuit of Tobacco, and to turn them to other more useful and necessary Commodities: That for this Purpose, an hundred and fifty Persons had been sent, to set up three Iron Works: That Directions had been given for making Cordage, as well of Hemp and Flax, as more especially of Silk-grafs, which grew there naturally in great Abundance, and was found, upon Experience, to make the best Cordage and Line in the World; and that therefore each Family had been ordered and obliged, to set an hundred Plants of it, and the Governor himself five thousand: That, besides, it had been recommended to them, to make Pitch and Tar, together with Pot and Soap-Ashes, and to provide Timber of all Sorts, for Shipping, and other Uses; to which End, sufficient Men and Materials had been sent over, for erecting fundry Sawing-Mills.: That the Country abounding in Mulberry Trees of the best Sort, whereon some Silkworms had been found naturally, producing excellent Silk, they had therefore pressed upon them the Culture and Improvement of that Manufacture; and that his Majesty, now the second time, after the Miscarriage of the former, had bestowed upon the Company Plenty of Silkworm Seed, of the best Sort, out of his own Store: That moreover, as the Country yielded naturally a wonderful Variety of excellent Grapes, there had been sent divers skilful Vignerons, together with Store of Vine Slips, of the best *European* Kinds: And lastly, that the Salt-Works, which had been suffered to run to Decay, were again restored and set up; and that there were now Hopes of such Plenty, as not only to serve the Colony for the present, but also shortly to supply the great Fishery on those *American* Coasts.

HE then exhibited to the Court the Book of his Accounts, examined and approved by five of the seven publick Auditors of the Company, the other two being absent. And he further declared, that for any Business, done within his Year, he had not left the Company, to his Knowledge, one Penny in Debt, except perhaps the Remain of some Charges, which had not been delivered in, or were not yet become due; and that he had also left in Stock twelve hundred Pounds more, than had been left to him the former Year. And next, he proceeded to inform the Company of the Deputy's Accounts, who himself presented them, exactly kept, after the Manner of Merchants, in three Books, subscribed and approved, as well by the Company's Committees, as

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all the Auditors. And then Sir *Edwin Sandys* went on, and told the Court, that he could not but greatly commend Mr. Deputy-Treasurer's Fidelity, Care, and Industry; who, to the Neglect of his own private Affairs, had bestowed his whole Time, together with the great Help and Assistance of his Brothers, on the Business of his Office, which he had discharged, with wonderful Exactness, and an incredible Diligence and Labour. And lastly, he concluded, with his respective Thanks to the several Orders of the Company: First, to the Company in general, for their good Opinion and Affection, in chusing him their Treasurer: Then, particularly to the Lords, for their frequent Presence, to the great Grace and Honour of the Court, and Furtherance of the Enterprize: Next, to the Officers, for their Fidelity and Diligence, in joining with him to support the great Burthen of the Company's Business: And lastly, to the Court, for their Goodness and Patience, in bearing with his involuntary Errors and other Infirmities. After which, delivering up his Office, together with the Seals, he desired them to proceed to their Election, according to the Message, lately received from his Majesty; and thereupon withdrew himself out of Court.

FOR at the Beginning of this Court, before they had entered upon any Business, a Gentleman from the King presented himself to the Board, and signified; that it was his Majesty's Pleasure, out of his especial Care and Affection for the Colony, that the Company should elect one of the four, which he should name to them, and no other, to be their Treasurer. These were Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Mr. Alderman *Johnson*, and Mr. *Maurice Abbot*. Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson* had before been in their chief Offices, and the Company conceived themselves to have little Reason, to be satisfied with their Conduct and Proceedings. But in *Virginia* more especially, where the Effects of their Management had been more sensibly felt; they were notoriously infamous, and utterly detested and cursed by the whole Colony. So that this may be looked upon, as an additional Instance of the unhappy Turn of that Monarch, in his Choice of publick Officers. Sir *Thomas Roe* was indeed an eminent Person, a Man of Letters, and a very great Traveller, and is well known to the Learned, by the Intimacy and Dearness, that was between him and Dr. *Donne*, Dean of *St. Paul's*; who was himself afterwards one of the Company, and of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*. But Sir *Thomas Roe* is most noted, for his Embassy from King *James* to the Court of the Great *Mogul*, and for his Journal of that Embassy, a most judicious and exquisite

Book

Book of Travels. But since his Return from the Great *Mogul's* Court, he had been concerned in the Customs, and was likewise well known, to have had a long and intimate Friendship with Sir *Thomas Smith*; both which, being suspicious Circumstances to the *Virginia* Company, would but little contribute towards recommending him to their Choice. As to Mr. *Abbot*, little is known of him; only that he was a Merchant, and may seem, from some obscure Circumstances, to have been of Kin to his Grace, Dr. *George Abbot*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

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BUT the greatest Obstacle, to the Election of either of these Gentlemen, was, that the Company had, almost unanimously, cast their Eye upon the Earl of *Southampton* for their future Treasurer, a Nobleman of eminent Quality, Grandson to the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley* (one of King *Henry VIII's* Executors, and of the Regents during the Minority of *Edward VI.*) and Father to the great and virtuous Earl and Duke of *Southampton*, in the Reigns of *Charles* the First and Second. He is also famed in History, for his Friendship to the unfortunate Earl of *Effex*, by whose Rashness and Impetuosity, he was betrayed into some unwarrantable Actions; and was therefore, at the same time with that Nobleman, condemned to Death, but pardoned by Queen *Elizabeth*, and kept in Prison, during her Life. He was, in Truth, an early, constant, and great Encourager of this Settlement of *Virginia*, as well as of all other noble Works and Enterprises; and is particularly memorable, for his generous Patronage, and singular Munificence, to *Shakespeare*, the Glory and Prodigy of the *English* Stage. For he is said, to have given him, at one time, a thousand Pounds, to enable him to go through with a Purchase, which he understood, he had an Inclination to make. But altho' he had been a strenuous Friend of *Effex's*, to all whom King *James* declared a particular Regard and Obligation, as that Lord was thought to have acted for his Interests, and altho' he was admitted of the Privy Council, yet was he but little affected or liked at Court. For his Friendship to the former Earl of *Effex* was continued down to his Son; whose hard Usage, in some Measure from the Court, in the Case of his Wife, could not but have been much disapproved and disgusted by him. And besides, about this Time, the Encroachments of the Prerogative, and the avowed Principles of arbitrary Power, began to raise a Spirit of Liberty in the Nation; and the Earl of *Southampton*, together with the Earls of *Effex* and *Oxford*, were soon distinguished, as the undoubted Heads of the patriot Party in the House of Lords; whilst Sir *Dudley*

1620. *Digges, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Mr. Selden,* and others of the *Virginia Company*, as well as divers Members not of that Company, appeared with equal Vigor and Resolution, in the House of Commons.

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BUT however the Affections of the Company might stand, they were much troubled and perplexed, by this Message from the King. For should they proceed according to that Nomination, they would certainly admit a very great and evident Breach, in their Privilege of free Election. And should they reject it, they might incur the Suspicion of Defect in Point of Duty and Obedience; an Imputation, ever hateful and easy of Access to the jealous Minds of weak and pusillanimous Princes, and which many of their own disaffected Members would be too ready to improve, to the Disadvantage of the Company. Having therefore consulted the Letters patent, it was at length agreed to adjourn to Election to the next Quarter Court; and after much and earnest Refusal, they prevailed on Sir *Edwin Sandys*, to continue in his Office, till that time. In the mean while, as it evidently appeared, that the King had been much abused and misinformed, concerning the Management of their Affairs, they appointed the Earl of *Southampton*, the Viscount *Doncaster*, Lord *Cavendish*, Lord *Sheffield*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Nicholas Tufton*, Sir *Lawrence Hyde*, with others, Gentlemen and Merchants, to deliver in, to his Majesty, a full and true Account, as well of the former, as of the last Year's Administration of their Affairs; and to beseech his Majesty, not to take from them the Privilege of their Charters, but to leave it to their own Choice, to have a free Election. To which Request, his Majesty readily condescended; and farther signified, that it would be highly pleasing and agreeable to him, if they made Choice of such a Person, as might, at all times, and on all Occasions, have free Access to his Royal Presence. And he likewise declared, that the Messenger, in excluding them from the Liberty of chusing any other, but one of the four nominated, had mistaken his Intention; which was indeed, to recommend those Gentlemen to their Choice, but not so, as to bar the Company from the Election of any other.

THIS Answer being received by the Company with great Thankfulness, Mr. *Herbert* observed to them, that their Business had, of late, suffered much, as well in Reputation, as otherways, by Reason of some unhappy Dissensions among them: That they ought, therefore, seriously to think, of applying a present and effectual Remedy to this Evil: That the late Treasurer was a Gentleman of such acknowledged Sufficiency, and of so great Integrity and Industry, that

that of his Rank, there could not certainly be any found to surpass him: That therefore, there seemed to him no Hope left; except some of those honourable Personages, then present, would vouchsafe to accept of the Place of Treasurer; who, by the Addition of Nobility, and by the Lustre and Influence of their high Station, might effect that, which, they had found by Experience, could not be effected, by mere Dint of Ability and Industry. Hereupon, the whole Court, beseeching his Lordship to redeem this noble Enterprize from imminent Danger and Destruction, did, with universal Joy and Applause, nominate the Earl of *Southampton*; and to testify their Thankfulness and Respect, they elected him Treasurer, without the Ballot, by a general Acclamation and Erection of Hands. And his Lordship, after a short Pause, declared his Acceptance; and exhorted them all, to put on the same Mind, with which he accepted that Place, and laying aside all private Feuds and Animofities, to labour chearfully and unanimously, for the Promotion of the publick Good, and the Advancement of the Colony. But as his Lordship's Attendance in Parliament, and other weighty Affairs, might not always permit him, to be so constant at their Courts, as might otherwise be wished, they voluntarily, and without his Motion, dispensed with him, in that Particular. And they also re-elected Mr. *John Farrar*, to the Place of Deputy-Treasurer; whose Experience, and known Integrity and Diligence, might well supply the occasional Absence of their Treasurer. Sir *Edwin Sandys* likewise, who was in a close and intimate Friendship with the Earl of *Southampton*, was afterwards authorised, at his Lordship's Desire, to set his Hand, upon Occasion, to Receipts of Money, for the Company's Use; and did otherwise, by his private Diligence and Activity, give him great Ease and Assistance, in the Execution of the Office.

CAPTAIN *Brewster's* Appeal from the Sentence of the Court-Martial, in *Virginia*, had, all this while, hung in Suspence; and it had even been declared, by a Meeting of the Council at the Earl of *Warwick's* House, the former Year, that Trial by Martial Law was the noblest kind of Trial, being judged by Soldiers and Men of Honour. But now, proper Certificates and attested Copies of the Proceedings being returned from *Virginia*, the Cause came to a final Hearing and Determination, in an extraordinary Court, held for that Purpose, and composed of several Lords and others of eminent Quality and Distinction. But here there seems to have reigned a quite different Spirit from that, which appeared at the Earl of *Warwick's*. For they were

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no way inclined, to give up the many Rights and Advantages of Juries and the Laws of *England*, for the extraordinary Privilege of being summarily tried by Martial Law, and dying honourably by the Verdict of Gentlemen of the Sword. And therefore, being shocked at the Cruelty and Terror of the Proceedings against Captain *Brewster*, they declared them to be unjust and unlawful, and not warrantable, either in Matter or Form, by the Laws of *England*, or by any Power or Authority, derived from his Majesty's Charters: That Captain *Brewster* had committed nothing, any way worthy of the severe Penalty of Death: That the Manner of Trial by Martial Law, in time of Peace, and when there was no Mutiny or Rebellion, was utterly unlawful and of no Validity: And consequently, that Captain *Brewster* was to be held a legal Man, and not lawfully condemned. And all this then passed and was ratified by the universal Assent of the Court; altho' Sir *Thomas Wroth*, who had married the Earl of *Warwick's* Sister, did, in a subsequent Court, declare his Dissent, on some false and frivolous Pretences. Captain *Brewster* had also, upon his Request, a Copy of this Act of Court granted him, exemplified under the legal Seal of the Company; of which he sent a Duplicate to *Virginia*.

IN *May* this Year, there was held another General Assembly, which has, through Mistake, and the Indolence and Negligence of our Historians, in searching such ancient Records, as are still extant in the Country, been commonly reputed the first General Assembly of *Virginia*. But that Privilege was granted sooner, immediately upon the Disgust taken, by the worthier Part of the Company, at Sir *Thomas Smith's* ill Government, and the insufferable Tyranny and Iniquity of Captain *Argall's* Proceedings. And upon Sir *George Yeadley's* Representation of the Want of more Counsellors, the Company appointed the following Gentlemen to be of the Council; Mr. *George Thorpe*, Deputy for the College; Mr. *Thomas Newce*, who had also been sent over Deputy for the Company's Lands, with the Allowance of twelve hundred Acres, and forty Tenants; Mr. *Tracy*; Mr. *Pountis*; Mr. *Middleton*; Mr. *Bluet*; and Mr. *Harwood*, the Chief of *Martin's* Hundred. And we are likewise told by Mr. *Beverley*, that a *Dutch* Ship, putting in this Year, sold twenty Negroes to the Colony, which were the first of that Generation, that were ever brought to *Virginia*.

TOBACCO, a stinking, nauseous, and unpalatable Weed, is certainly an odd Commodity, to make the Staple and Riches of a Country. It is neither of Necessity nor Ornament

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ment to human Life; but the Use of it depends upon Humour and Custom, and may be looked upon, as one of the most singular and extraordinary Pieces of Luxury, that the Wantonness of Man hath yet invented or given into. It is not therefore to be wondered, that the Colony's Eagerness and Application, almost solely, to Tobacco, was much distasted and opposed by the Company; especially in those early Times, before it had yet obtained such a general Reception and Dominion in the World. To which may be added, that the King himself, to whom the Age in general, and the Company in particular, did, on many Occasions, pay great Deference, had a Sort of natural Antipathy to it, and was perpetually haranguing, railing, and even writing against it. For that *Solomon of England* thought it not below his Royal Wisdom and Dignity, to write a Treatise, entitled; *A Counter-Blasf to Tobacco*. The Company therefore entered into and admitted various Projects, for raising other things of more immediate Necessity and Benefit to Mankind; such as the several Commodities, mentioned and recommended by Sir *Edwin Sandys*, in his late Speech, at the delivering up of his Office, with many others. For this Purpose, they procured plenty of Silkworm Seed out of *France, Italy, and Spain*; and sent over a Person, who had been brought up, many Years, in tending the King's Silkworms at *Oatlands*, and was thereby become very skilful, in breeding the Worms, and winding the Silk, and undertook to instruct others therein. And they also laid out for, and had Hopes of procuring, many more such skilful Artists from *France*. And as the Inhabitants were very eager, to have the Servants and Apprentices, sent over by the Company, they made an Order, for the greater Encouragement of these Commodities, that such Planters, as had excelled, in building fit Rooms for Silkworms, and in planting Mulberry Trees and Vines, should have the first Choice of such Apprentices and Servants; and that the Company would be paid for them, not a Whit in Smoke and Tobacco, but in Corn, Silkgrafs, Silk, and other such useful Commodities. At Sir *Edwin Sandys's* Motion, there was likewise translated, by some of the Company, a *French* Treatise (recommended, as excellent in that Kind) concerning the Management of Mulberry Trees and Silk; which was printed at the Company's Expence, and sent over in sufficient Numbers, and distributed among the People. And they also appointed a select Committee of Merchants, to rate all those several Commodities at such a just Price, that the Company and Merchants might be no Losers thereby, and yet that the Planter might have good Encouragement to raise them.

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BESIDES these, they entered into Projects and Contracts, for raising various other Commodities. And Sir *Edwin Sandys* in particular, who was ever studious and indefatigable in the Company's Business, presented a long and judicious Writing, containing many useful Instructions and Projects, for the Peace and better Government of the Company at home, and for the Advancement of the Colony abroad; all which, in its several Parts and Branches, was entrusted to proper Committees, to ripen and bring into Execution. Sir *William Monson* also, a Person of great Eminence and Note (being Admiral in the Reigns of Queen *Elisabeth*, *James I.* and *Charles I.* and Author of the Naval Tracts) together with his Associates, offered to the Company, if they would, for seven Years, grant them the sole Benefit and Importation, from *Virginia*, of two such new Commodities, as had not yet been discovered or planted by any other, to pay them an hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to plant twenty five Men, every Year during the said Term, and then to resign the Whole up into the Company's Hands. A Patent was therefore accordingly granted, with proper Restrictions; but what these Commodities were, or what was the Success or Consequence of this Undertaking, I do not find.

THIS Year 1620, Count *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, who had a great Ascendant at Court, and governed the King, as he pleased, prevailed with him, to fit out a Squadron, of six Ships of War and twelve stout Merchantmen, in order to humble the *Algerines*, who then infested the *Spanish* Coasts and Trade, but were not any way particularly troublesome to our Nation. And thus was this weak and timorous Prince, who could not be drawn to make any Steps, towards the Vindication of his own Honour, or to support the Rights of his Family, or the Interests of his Subjects, strangely engaged in a warlike Expedition, in Defence of a treacherous and delusive Ally. This Squadron was put under the Command of Sir *Robert Mansel*, as Admiral; together with whom, Sir *Richard Hawkins*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *Thomas Button*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *Henry Palmer*, *Arthur Manwaring*, and *Thomas Love*, Esqrs. Captains of the other Men of War, and *Samuel Argall*, Esq; who commanded one of the stoutest Privateers, were appointed a Council of War. But this Enterprize was very weakly managed; and to use Sir *William Monson's* Remark, altho' it was designed to find out and destroy the Pirates of *Algiers*, yet the Fleet did not spend twenty Days at Sea, the whole time, they continued in the *Mediterranean*; but retired into Harbour, where the Pirates might find them, but not

not they the Pirates. So that, this ill-conducted Action afforded sufficient Subject of Scorn and Laughter to all Nations; especially considering the great Reputation, the *English* had justly gained, in their former Expeditions at Sea. But *Cambden* tells us, that, in Revenge for this Injury and Assault, the *Algerines* took, by the 9th of *October* following, thirty five Sail of *English* and *Scotch* Ships.

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ABOUT this time, there arose a warm Dispute between the two Colonies, concerning the *Virginia* Company's Right to fish at *Cape Cod*, within the Limits of the *Northern* Colony; and upon Reference to the Letters-patent, it was found clearly, that their Pretensions were justly grounded. But Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, with others principally concerned in the *Northern* Grant, endeavoured privately to obtain a new Patent, whereby the *Southern* Colony should be utterly excluded from fishing upon that Coast, without their Leave and Licence first obtained. This gave a just Alarm to the *Virginia* Company. For besides six thousand Pounds, which they had already expended upon that Fishery, it was at present of main Consequence to them, as well for the Support and Sustainance of the Plantation, as for defraying the vast Charge of Shipping and Transportation of People, by Returns made from thence in Fish. They therefore applied to his Majesty, and got this Patent of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* stopped and sequestered, in the Lord Chancellor's Hands. And finding, how precarious their Privileges were, upon his Majesty's sole Grant, and how liable to be perpetually violated and impeded, it was resolved, upon the Motion of Mr. *Smith*, a sensible, worthy, and useful Member of the Company, to obtain a new Grant, with all such further Immunities, and larger Privileges, as were fitting and requisite, and to have it strengthened and confirmed in the Parliament, which was to meet soon after; and upon the Earl of *Southampton's* Application to his Majesty, he readily gave his Consent to it: But notwithstanding the Earl of *Southampton's* Interest and Endeavours, and Sir *Edwin Sandys's* great Pains and Industry therein, it was never brought to any final Issue or Conclusion.

BUT the Remedy, proposed by Mr. *Herbert*, for curing the Factions and Discords of the Company, by setting a Nobleman of eminent Distinction and Authority at the Head of their Affairs, was far from having the intended Effect. For their Animosities and Dissensions grew higher, towards the latter End of this Year, and never ended, but with the Dissolution of the Company. As therefore they were the chief Occasion and Pretence of that Dissolution, it will not be improper here, to give a fuller and more distinct Account of them.

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BESIDES the Affairs of the Magazine, which, notwithstanding its Dissolution, still afforded Matter of Contention, there were two other principal Subjects of Dispute and Confusion in the Company; the settling Sir *Thomas Smith's* Accounts, and the Prosecution of Captain *Argall*, for his many Outrages and exorbitant Proceedings in *Virginia*. Sir *Thomas Smith* had been Treasurer, from the first Constitution of the Company in the Year 1606, till April 28, 1619; and in that time, there had passed through his Hands about eighty thousand Pounds. He had, in those Days, a very great Interest and Sway in the Company; and to put the best Construction upon the Matter, he never expected to be called to a strict and rigorous Account, and his Servants had been very careless and remiss, in keeping his Books. But several of the Company suspected, that he had embezzled and converted much of the publick Money, to his own private Use; and were therefore very eager, to bring him to an Account. Sir *Thomas*, on his Side, was very fair in his Professions, and pressed, with much Warmth, the full Settlement and finishing the Affair; offering to pay, not only what should appear due from himself, but whatever Wrong or Damage should have happened to the Company, from his Under-Officers or Servants. But then his Receipts were so very faulty and deficient, and his Disbursements so void of all Warrant and proper Vouchers, that the Company's Auditors, although they took much Pains, could bring nothing to a Head; and the whole only served, to administer fresh Fuel to Animosities and Quarrels, without any Prospect of coming to a satisfactory Conclusion.

As to Captain *Argall*, altho' he was under Prosecution from the Company, yet by his Craft and Management, by the Power and Influence of his Friends, by his shifting and turning, and by going on the Expedition against the *Algerines*, he so shuffled and perplexed the Company; that he at last escaped, without any Punishment or Restitution at all. And altho' Sir *Thomas Smith*, overpowered with the Justice and Necessity of the thing, had first commenced the Prosecution against him, yet being now Fellow-Sufferers, and equally aggrieved at the present upright and vigorous Administration of the Company's Affairs, they joined Forces, and did every thing in their Power, to disgrace, and vilify, and retard the Success of the Enterprize. The principal Persons of their Faction were, the Earl of *Warwick*; Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, the Earl's Brother; Sir *Thomas Wroth*, who was nearly allied to them by Marriage; Sir *John Wolstenholme*, a wealthy Merchant and a Farmer of the Customs; with Alderman *Johnson*, Mr. *Canning*, and Mr. *Essington*,
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three factious Citizens, and others of less Note, to the Number of twenty six in the whole, when their Faction was strongest; a very inconsiderable Party, had they not gained the Ear and Support of a weak King, who had a wonderful Instinct and Propensity to the wrong Side of every Question, and with much Formality of Wisdom and Learning, for ever mistook the true Interest of himself and his Subjects. On the other Side appeared the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Viscount *Doncaster*, Lord *Cavendish*, Lord *Sheffield*, Lord *Paget*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Samuel Sandys*, with a long Roll of others, and in short, the whole Body of Adventurers in general, which consisted of near fifty Noblemen, some hundreds of Knights, and many hundreds of Gentlemen, eminent Merchants, and Citizens, to the full Amount of a thousand Persons in all. But none acted in the Support of Truth and Justice, with greater Spirit and Vigor, than the Lord *Cavendish*; afterwards Earl of *Devonshire*, and Sir *Edward Sackvil*. The former was a young Nobleman of much Generosity, Spirit, and Eloquence; and he succeeded Sir *Thomas Smith*, in the Place of Governor to the *Somer-Islands* Company. The latter, who afterwards became Earl of *Dorset*, was the Person of the greatest Fame in that Age, for a facetious Vivacity, sparkling Wit, and undaunted Courage, joined to a sound and comprehensive Understanding, and an excellent Turn for Business. He was one of the first, that raised the Reputation of the *Dorset* Family, for Wit and Exactness of Taste and Discernment; but is best known to common Readers, for his Duel with Lord *Bruce*, which is related in my Lord *Clarendon* and the *Guardian*, Books deservedly popular and in the Hands of every Body. And as he appeared thus early in the Cause of the Colony (for such is it owned to be by our Assemblies of those times) so did he continue, to the last, a constant Friend and Favourer of *Virginia*.

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As Sir *George Yeardley* had expressed his Desire to leave the Government, at the Expiration of his Commission, which would be in the *November* following, the Earl of *Southampton* recommended to the Company the Consideration of a proper Person, to succeed him. His Lordship proposed to their Choice Sir *Francis Wyat*, a young Gentleman, thought every way sufficient and equal to the Place, and highly esteemed, as he said, on Account of his Birth, Education, Integrity of Life, and fair Fortune. However, he earnestly pressed on the Company the Nomination of such other Person or Persons, as they should think proper, to stand

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stand in Election with him. But no other being so much as named, Sir *Francis Wyat* was chosen Governor, to take his Place at the Expiration of Sir *George Yeadley's* Commission, and not before. And to do him the greater Grace and Honour, as well as the better to enable and encourage him in the Execution of his Office, they elected him one of his Majesty's Council in *England* for *Virginia*. They also allowed him two hundred Pounds, for all necessary Provisions for his Voyage, with the free transport of himself and Attendants, provided they did not exceed the Number of twenty Persons.

DR. *Lawrence Bohun*, who had left *Virginia* in the Year 1611, with the Lord *Delawarr*, had now obtained a large Grant of Land, for the Transportation of three hundred Persons. He was also appointed the Company's Physician-General to the Colony, with the Allowance of five hundred Acres of Land and twenty Tenants; under Covenant, to maintain and make them good, from time to time, and at his Decease, or other Removal, to leave the like Number of Men and Stock of Cattle, as was allowed by the Company, and by them annexed to the Place. He accordingly set sail, in the Beginning of *February*, with eighty Passengers, in a Ship of an hundred and sixty Tons and eight Iron Guns and a Falcon, commanded by Captain *Anthony Chester*. But about the Middle of *March*, they were attacked, near *Nevis* in the *West-Indies*, by two *Spanish* Men of War, of three hundred Tons and sixteen or twenty Brass Cannon apiece. The Fight was sharp and desperate; but the *English* so bestowed their Shot, and managed the Engagement with such Dexterity and Bravery, that the *Spaniards* were glad to stand aloof, and after following them a Day or two, without any other remarkable Annoyance, at last fell astern, and left them. There was made a very great Slaughter of the *Spaniards*, so that their Scupples ran with Blood; and the Captain of the Admiral-Ship, who acted the Part of a brave Commander, was slain. On the *English* Side, ten were killed; among whom was Dr. *Bohun*, whose Death was greatly lamented. He had studied long among the learned Physicians of the *Low-Countries*, and behaved himself in this Battle, like a worthy and valiant Gentleman. In his Room, Mr. *John Pot* was elected, by the Company, Physician-General to the Colony. He was recommended by Dr. *Gulstone*, an eminent Member of their Society, as a Master of Arts, well practiced in Chirurgery and Physic, and expert in Chymical Processes and other ingenious Parts of his Profession; whose Service, he therefore conceived, would be of great Use to the Colony. He was accordingly sent,

sent, upon the same Foot, as Dr. *Bobun*; and was allowed his own, his Wife's, and two Servants Passages. Dr. *Gulstone* was likewise desired, to buy a Chest of Physic of twenty Pounds Value, and ten Pounds of Books, proper for the Profession, which should always belong to the Place.

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CAPTAIN *William Newce* offered, to transport and settle a thousand Persons in *Virginia*, by Midsummer, 1625; and desired to be appointed their General, and to have a Patent, with that Proportion of Land, and such other Privileges, as were usually granted on the like Occasion. A Patent was readily granted, in the largest and most ample Manner. But as to the Title and Command of General, they refused to grant it him; because it was a Power, properly belonging to the Governor only. Besides, it gave such an Independency, as was destructive of all Order and good Government; and had therefore been loudly cried out against, in Captain *Martin's* extravagant Patent, and in a Grant surreptitiously and illegally obtained by Captain *Argall*, and therefore expressly stopped, by the Company's Orders to the Governor in *Virginia*. But Captain *Newce* farther requested, in order to enable him the better to go through the Charge of so great an Undertaking, to be appointed Marshal of *Virginia*; for which Post he was eminently qualified, having ever been exercised in military Affairs and Arms, and of noted Experience and Skill in Martial Discipline; as appeared by his many Services in *Ireland*, and by the Testimony of divers honourable Persons, upon their own Knowledge. He was therefore constituted Marshal of *Virginia*; to take into his Charge, as well the Fortifications, Arms, and Forces of the Colony, as to cause the People, to be duly trained up in Military Discipline, and to the Use and Exercise of Arms. And they annexed fifteen hundred Acres of Land and fifty Tenants to the Place, to be transported and furnished by himself, at eight Pounds Charge to the Company a Man. And the King also, being highly pleased at the Nomination of this Gentleman, conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him; calling him his Knight-Marshal of *Virginia*, and expressing great Hopes from the Management of a Person of his acknowledged Capacity and Skill. However, he did not long survive his Arrival in *Virginia*; but died, two Days after the reading his Patent and Commission.

THERE was, at this time, above a thousand Pounds, due in *Virginia* to the Company, for Rents and Duties; and they were likewise greatly scandalised and offended, to find their frequent and pressing Orders, for raising good and staple Commodities, entirely slighted and neglected. It was therefore

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SOON after, Mr. *Richard Norwood*, a Man famous, in those Days, as a Mathematician, who had laid off the Tribes and Lands, and made an exact Plot of the Islands of *Bermudas*, was recommended to the Company for Surveyor of *Virginia*, and was accordingly elected to the Place. But I know not, how the Change came to be made, yet I find, very soon after, Mr. *William Clayborne* appointed and sent Surveyor. The Company allowed him thirty Pounds a Year and a convenient House, for his publick Service in laying off their Lands; with twenty Pounds paid in Hand, to furnish himself with Instruments and Books, which he was obliged to leave to his Successors. They likewise allowed him the Transport of three Persons, and gave him two hundred Acres of Land in Fee-simple; and in case he was employed in any private Survey, he was to receive six Shillings a Day, and to be found in Diet and Lodging.

MR. *Pory*'s Commission of Secretary was to determine, at the same Time, as Sir *George Yeardley*'s. He had given the Company little Satisfaction in that Office, but had been plainly detected, although a sworn Officer, of betraying the Proceedings, and secretly conveying the Proofs, against Captain *Argall*, to the Earl of *Warwick*. And as he was besides known, to be a professed Tool and Instrument to that Faction, the Company was at no Loss or Hesitation, about renewing his Commission. But four Gentlemen being strongly recommended to them, as fully qualified for that Post, in Point of Learning, Honesty, and Experience, they

they made Choice of Mr. *Christopher Davison*, and admitted him a free Brother of the Company, and one of the Council of State in *Virginia*. And as the Company's Ships were often delayed in the Country, through Negligence and Mismanagement, it was resolved, to appoint an Officer, by the Title of Vice-Admiral, who should take into his Charge the Care and Dispatch of them. Mr. *John Pountis* therefore, one of the Council, who had deserved well of both the Company and Colony, was, this Summer, appointed to that Place provisionally, and afterwards confirmed by the Quarter Court in *November*, with the Allowance of three hundred Acres of Land and twelve Tenants.

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THE late large Transportations of People, the furnishing and fitting out the new Governor and these other Officers, with the vast Charge of providing them with Tenants and Servants, and other needful and well-designed Expences, did so entirely exhaust the publick Treasury of the Company, that it never afterwards recovered itself to any tolerable Degree of Affluence or Wealth. And besides, the Lotteries were now at an End, which were the only Means of raising a Fund again, and which alone had brought twenty nine thousand Pounds *Sterling* into the Company's Stock. Wherefore Mr. *Smith* observed to them, that the Lotteries, which had thus far supplied the real and substantial Food, by which *Virginia* had been nourished, did now no longer subsist. To the End therefore, that she might still be preserved, by divulging Fame and good Report, he proposed, in the Name of himself and many others of the Society, to have a fair and perspicuous History compiled of the Country, from the first Discovery to that Time; wherein the Memory and Deserts of many of her worthy Undertakers, as Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *George Somers*, the Lord *Dela-warr*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Sir *Thomas Gates* (for both those Knights, after their Return from *Virginia*, had gone to the *East-Indies*, and there died) together with divers others then living, might be commended to eternal Thankfulness. He regretted their present Inability, in having no other Coin, wherewith to recompence the great Pains and Merit of the well-deserving. But he affirmed, that the best planted Parts of *America*, under the *Spanish* Government, at the like Age, afforded not better Matter of Relation, than *Virginia* then did. And he said, that the Effect, which such a general History, deduced to the Life, would have, throughout the Kingdom, on the popular Opinion of the common Subject, might be gathered, from the Success of the little Pamphlets or Declarations, lately published. And he

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he further urged the immediate Performance thereof, because a few Years would consume the Lives of many, whose Memories retained much, and might also devour those Letters and Intelligences, which yet remained in loose and neglected Papers.

THIS Speech was received by the whole Court, with very great Applause, as spoken freely, and to an excellent Purpose; and it was resolved, to have it considered, and put in Practice, in due Time. Mr. *Smith* was also exceedingly commended, as well for this, as for always preferring Motions of especial Consequence. And it was from this Motion, I suppose, that Captain *Smith* was requested, in the Company's Name, to write his History of *Virginia*; as he himself tells us, p. 168. However the Captain's Deserts seem not, about this Time, to have been fully understood or regarded. For I find him, soon after, preferring a Petition to the Company, setting forth; That he had not only adventured Money, but had also twice built *James-Town*, and four other Plantations; and had discovered the Country, and relieved the Colony, three Years together, with such Provisions, as he got from the Savages, with great Peril and Hazard of his Life; and therefore he desired, in Consideration thereof, that the Company would be pleased to reward him, either out of their Treasury at home, or their Profits in *Virginia*. And certainly, considering his many great and extraordinary Services, he was highly worthy their Regard. But the Court referred him to the Committee, appointed for rewarding Men upon Merit; and from whatever Cause it happened, I find nothing farther done in the Matter. So that he, with a Fate very usual to publick Spirits, had Reason to complain, that every Shilling, which he had gained by these Enterprizes, had cost him a Pound; and that what he had got, in some successful Campaigns at War, had been chearfully spent on *Virginia* and *New-England*, for the publick Good. Yet he begrudges it not, but should think himself happy, to see their Prosperity and Advancement.

AT the Court of Election, the Earl of *Southampton* was again chosen Treasurer for the ensuing Year, with an unanimous Voice. His Lordship was then absent, having been long detained, that Day, in Parliament. But at his coming to Court, he was pleased to accept the Place, in a very noble Manner; and he had the hearty Thanks of the whole Court returned him, for his honourable Care and Pains, ever since his Entrance into that Place of Government, to uphold and advance the Plantation. And at his Lordship's Request, Mr. *John Farrar*, of whose Fidelity and Sufficiency

ciency they already had so much Experience, was most willingly continued in his Office of Deputy.

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THE Earl of *Warwick* was highly offended at Sir *George Yeardley*, for intercepting a Pacquet of Letters, and discovering the Correspondence between Secretary *Pory* and himself. He therefore loudly declared his Displeasure, and took all possible Methods to daunt and discourage him, from proceeding vigorously in *Argall's* Prosecution. To this End, he caused it to be rumoured over all *Virginia*, even to *Opechananough*, and had it confirmed by Letters from *England*, that he himself was coming over shortly, in Person, to be their Governor, with Captain *Argall* for his Pilot; and that then he would call Sir *George Yeardley* severely into Question, for his own Government, and would take a sharp and full Revenge. These Reports much weakened the Strength and Authority of the Government; and they likewise so affected Sir *George Yeardley*, a Man of a meek and gentle Nature, and threw him into such a Dejection of Spirit, that he fell into a long and languishing Sickness, to the general Hurt and Neglect of the publick Business, as well as Captain *Argall's* Affair in particular.

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THE Company also, this Year, entertained some Projects for producing useful Commodities; and as three of the Master Workmen of their Iron Works were dead, they sent over Mr. *John Berkeley*, and *Maurice*, his Son, who were commended, as very skilful in that Way, with twenty other experienced Workmen. They likewise ordered a Bill to be prepared for the Parliament, for sending over the Poor, which were now become very numerous and burthensome to the several Parishes, to be set to work, and usefully employed, in *Virginia*. Sir *George Yeardley* complained, that the Council of State lived very distant and dispersed; and having no Allowance for their Attendance, could scarce be got together. Whereupon the Company ordered, that the Council should meet, four times a Year, and should hold Quarter Sessions, a whole Week together; to assist the Governor, from time to time, as well in Matter of Counsel and of State, as in all Causes of Importance, and for Redress of general and particular Grievances. And that their Number might make their Meetings the more easy, besides the seven, last Year appointed, and the new Officers of State, now going over, they also added, in the Room of Dr. *Bohun* and two others, that were dead, Mr. *Pot*, the Rev. Mr. *Robert Pawlet*, Captain *Roger Smith*, and Mr. *Leech*. This last Gentleman was going over, to view the Country, and to pitch upon a proper Place of Settlement, for the famous and munificent *William Earl of Pembroke*; who had

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undertaken, with his Associates, to plant thirty thousand Acres of Land, and consequently to transport six hundred Persons.

THE latter End of *July*, or Beginning of *August*, Sir *Francis Wyat* set out for his Government, with the Treasurer, Secretary, Physician-General, and Surveyor, in Company with nine Sail of Ships; all which arrived safe in *Virginia*, about *October*, without the Loss of one single Passenger. With him, was sent a Body of Instructions to the Governor, for the time being, and the Council of State in *Virginia*; consisting of forty seven Articles, and signed by the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Davers*, and others of the Council. In these, it was first recommended to them, to take into their especial Regard the Service of Almighty God, and the Observance of his divine Laws; and that the People should be trained up, in true Religion and Virtue. And since their Endeavours, for the Establishment of the Honour and Rights of the Church and Ministry, had not yet taken due Effect, they were required, to employ their utmost Care, to advance all things appertaining to the Order and Administration of Divine Service, according to the Form and Discipline of the Church of *England*; carefully to avoid all factious and needless Novelties, which only tended to the Disturbance of Peace and Unity; and to cause, that the Ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the Churches, or Places appointed for Divine Service, decently accommodated, according to former Orders in that Behalf. They were, in the next Place, commanded, to keep the People in due Obedience to the King; to provide, that Justice might be equally administered to all, as near as could be, according to the Forms and Constitution of *England*; to prevent all Corruption, tending to the Perversion or Delay of Justice; to protect the Natives, from Injury and Oppression; and to cultivate Peace and Friendship with them, as far as it should be consistent with the Honour of the Nation and Safety of the People. They were likewise required, to make the People apply themselves to an industrious Way of Life; and to suppress all Gaming, Drunkenness, and Excess in Apparel. To this End it was ordained, that no Person, except the Council, or the Heads of Hundreds and Plantations, with their Wives and Children, should wear Gold on their Cloaths, or any Apparel of Silk, except such as had been raised by their own Industry. But the Governor and Council answered to this, that they knew of no Excess in Apparel, except in the Price of it; and had it not come from them, they should have thought it a Flout upon the Colony, for their Poverty and Nakedness.

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THEY were also enjoined, to use great Care, that no just Cause of Offence be given to any other Prince, State, or People; to permit no Captain, or other Person, under Pretence of Trade, to sail to the *West-Indies*, to rob and spoil; not to give Harbour or Refuge, on the Coasts or in the Country, to any Pirates or Banditti, but severely to prosecute and punish them; and to take better Care, for proper and effectual Fortifications. They further pressed upon them, in a particular Manner, the using all probable Means of bringing over the Natives, to a Love of Civility, and to the Knowledge of God, and his true Religion. To which Purpose, they observed to them, that the Example, given by the *English* in their own Persons and Families, would be of singular and chief Moment: That it would be proper, to draw the best disposed among the *Indians*, to converse and labour with our People, for a convenient Reward; that thereby, being reconciled to a civil Way of Life, and brought to a Sense of God and Religion, they might afterwards become Instruments in the general Conversion of their Countrymen, so much desired: That each Town, Burrough, and Hundred, ought to procure, by just Means, a certain Number of their Children, to be brought up in the first Elements of Litterature: That the most towardly of these should be fitted for the College; in building of which, they purposed to proceed, as soon as any Profit arose from the Estate, appropriated to that Use; and they earnestly required their utmost Help and Furtherance, in that pious and important Work; not doubting the particular Blessing of God upon the Colony, and being assured of the Love of all good Men, upon that Account.

THEY next proceeded to give Instructions, for the Reception and Accommodation of the new Governor, and of the other Officers and People, then sent. And they pressed upon them the raising several useful Commodities; as well Corn, Wine, Silk, and others heretofore frequently mentioned, as also the making Oil of Walnuts, employing their Apothecaries in Distillation, and searching the Country for Minerals, Dyes, Gums, Drugs, and the like. And they ordered them particularly, by the King's Advice and Desire, to draw the People off of their excessive planting of Tobacco. To that End, they were commanded to permit them, to make only an hundred Pounds of Tobacco a Head; and to take all possible Care, to improve that Proportion in Goodness, as much as might be, which would bring their Commodity into Request, and cause a more certain Benefit to the Planter. They likewise added many other Advices and Instructions, for the Admini-

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stration of Justice, the good Government, and happy Advancement of the Colony.

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IN Case of the Death, Removal, or Suspension of the Governor, the Council, or major Part of them, then resident in *Virginia*, were ordered, immediately to assemble themselves, within fourteen Days, or sooner, and out of their own Body, to elect a Person, to supply the Place, for the Time. But if the Voices should happen to be equal, then Election was to be made of the Lieutenant-Governor; and in his Absence, or necessary Cause of declining it, the Marshal should succeed; next, the Treasurer; and then one of the two Deputies, for the College and Company's Lands; till the Government should be settled in one of those chief Officers. And the Governor was authorised, to determine and punish, at his Discretion, any sudden and emergent Business, and all Neglect or Contempt of Authority, in any Kind or Person whatsoever; except only the Council in their own Persons, who were, in such Cases, to be summoned to appear, at the next Quarter Session of the Council, and there to abide their Censure. But if the Governor thought, it concerned the Peace and Welfare of the Colony, to proceed more speedily with such Offender, that then it should be lawful for him, to summon an extraordinary Council, at which six of the Council, at least, should be present with the Governor; and by Majority of Voices, any Counsellor might be committed, or obliged to give Bail for his Appearance.

SIR *Francis Wyat* also brought over with him an Ordinance or Charter, from the Treasurer, Council, and Company in *England*, for settling the Constitution and Government of *Virginia*, in the Governor, the Council of State, as his Assistants, and the General Assembly. This Assembly was to consist of the Governor, Council of State, and two Burgesses, chosen by every Town, Hundred, or particular Plantation. All Matters were to be decided, determined, and ordered in it, by the Majority of Voices, then present; reserving to the Governor a Negative upon the Whole. And they were empowered, to treat, consult, and conclude, as well concerning all emergent Occasions, relating to the publick Weal of the said Colony, and every Part thereof, as also to make, ordain, and enact such general Laws and Orders, as should, from time to time, appear necessary: Provided nevertheless, that no Law, or Ordinance, made in the said General Assembly, should be of Force or Validity, unless the same should be solemnly confirmed and ratified, in a General Quarter Court of the Company in *England*, and returned under their Seal: As
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also, when this Form of Government should be once well framed and settled, that no Orders, of the Court in *England*, should bind the Colony, before they were ratified and confirmed, in like Manner, by the General Assembly in *Virginia*. But in all other things, they were commanded, to follow the Policy, Form of Government, Laws, Customs, Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in *England*.

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THE Company's Treasury was so reduced, that it could not now suffice for several things of the utmost Necessity and Advantage. Wherefore, to supply this Deficiency, they entered into a Method of preparing Rolls, and offering them to the voluntary Subscription of the Adventurers. Whatever was sent to *Virginia* upon these Rolls, was there sold, by the Cape-Merchant or some other Factor, at such a moderate Price, as should indemnify the Subscribers for their Money advanced, and for all Charges incident thereupon. At this time, four Rolls were prepared and brought into Court, for the Company's Subscription. The first was for Apparel, and other necessary Provisions and Utensils, for the Colony. The second, for sending an hundred more Maids, to make Wives; and sixty were accordingly sent, young, handsome, and well recommended to the Company, for their virtuous Education and Demeanor. With them was sent over the several Recommendations and Testimonials of their Behaviour, that the Purchasers might thence be enabled to judge, how to chuse. The Price of these Wives was stated at an hundred and twenty Pounds of Tobacco, and afterwards advanced to an hundred and fifty, and proportionably more, if any of them should happen to die; so that the Adventurers might be refunded their original Charge. And it was also ordered, that this Debt for Wives should have the Precedency of all others, and be first recoverable. And it was strictly enjoined, that they should be well used, and not married to Servants, but to such Freemen and Tenants, as could handsomely support them; that, by their good Fortune, Multitudes of others might be allured to come over, on the Prospect of advantageous Matches. And the Company likewise declared their Intention, that, for the Encouragement of settled Families, and securing a Posterity, they would prefer and make Consignments to married Men, before single Persons; and that as many Boys should be sent, as there were Maids, to be 'Prentices to those who married them. They also granted the Adventurers, who subscribed to this Roll, a ratable Proportion of Land, according to the Number of the Maids sent, to be laid off together and formed into a Town, by the Name of

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Maidstown. The third Roll was for a Glafs Furnace, to make Beads, which was the current Coin in the *Indian* Trade; and one Captain *Norton*, with some *Italian* Workmen, was sent over for that Purpose. The fourth was for setting out a trading Voyage with the *Indians*, for Skins and Furs. For, the Company was informed from several Hands, that the *French* and *Dutch* carried on a very profitable Trade of that sort, in *Delawarr* and *Hudson's* Rivers, which were within the Limits of their Grant, and then esteemed Parts of *Virginia*. They therefore resolved, to vindicate their Right, and not to permit Foreigners to run away with so lucrative a Branch of their Trade. One Captain *Jones* was accordingly sent upon the Voyage; but by the Wick- edness of him and his Mariners, the Adventure was lost, and the whole Project overthrown. To these Rolls, the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Edwin Sandys*, each subscribed two hundred Pounds; and such was the Zeal and Resolution of the Adventurers to advance the Colony, that they were soon compleated, and put into Execution. At the same time, the Company, in their Letters to the Governor and Council, recommends to them the Prevention of Fraud and Deceit in Tobacco; and that some Provision should be made, for burning all base and rotten Trash, and none suffered to go home, but what was very good; where- by, they said, there would certainly be more advanced in the Price, than lost in the Quantity.

BUT Tobacco was, at this time, a very sinking Com- modity. For altho' the Planters magisterially forced it on the Company and others, at the current Price of three Shil- lings a Pound, yet it would not turn out at home, after Shrinkage and Waste, and the Discharge of the Duty and Freight, (which last alone was three Pence, and sometimes four Pence, a Pound) at above two Shillings for the best, and the inferior Sort at scarce eighteen Pence a Pound. And besides, the Trade was strangely hampered and perplexed, by the weak and unsteady Counsels of the puny Monarch, then on the Throne. For altho', in the Beginning of the former Year, the Company had yielded to his unreasonable Demand of twelve Pence a Pound, yet soon after, in the same Summer, he issued a Proclamation, prohibiting a ge- neral Importation of Tobacco, and restraining the Quantity from *Virginia* and the *Somer-Islands*, to fifty five thousand Weight. At the same time, taking Advantage of an Offer of Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson*, in the Name of the Company, but without their Knowledge or Autho- rity, and so utterly disclaimed by them, he granted a Mo- nopoly of Tobacco; the sole Importation whereof was granted,

granted by Letters patent, first to Sir *Thomas Roe* and his Associates (at whose Desire and Instigation the Proclamation, above mentioned, was issued) and the Year after, to Mr. *Jacob* and certain other Patentees. They proceeded most injuriously against both Companies, not only stinting them to too scant a Proportion, but also restraining them from selling their Tobacco, without their Seal and Allowance first had; for which, under the Pretence and Title of Garbling, they were obliged to pay four Pence a Pound. This Garbling was an ancient Custom of the City of *London*; and an Officer was appointed, who had Power to enter into any Shop or Warehouse, to view and search Drugs and Spices, and to garble the same; that is, to make them clean from all Garbles or Trash. And it was now put into Execution, and arbitrarily applied to Tobacco (a new Commodity in *England*, and therefore not legally subject to Garbling, without an express Law) in order the more effectually to oppress the Companies and Plantations, and to squeeze the greater Gain out of them.

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THUS injured and distressed, the Company presented their Petition and Representation to his Majesty, to which they received a gracious Answer, with large Professions of his Love to the Colonies, and that it never was his Intention to grant any thing to their Prejudice; but without any Redress of their Grievance. It was therefore at last resolved, to prefer a Petition to the House of Commons, and therein to complain of these Oppressions, which tended to the utter Destruction and Overthrow of the Colonies; and as that House had called into Question, and intended to suppress, other Monopolies (a great and crying Grievance of those Times) they doubted not, to receive from them a full and ample Redress. They likewise, at the Motion of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, presented Mr. *Edward Bennet*, a Citizen of *London*, with the Freedom of their Company; because he had written a Treatise, setting forth, in a clear and lively Manner, the great Inconvenience and Damage to the Nation, by the Importation of *Spanish* Tobacco; and because he had frequently attended the Committees of the House of Commons, who were well inclined, to afford their utmost Assistance, for the Prohibition of foreign Tobacco. This Mr. *Bennet* immediately became the most deeply engaged, and was far the largest and most considerable Adventurer of any, then known, in the Affair of *Virginia*; whose Foundations, in that early time, have continued down to the present. For his Nephew, *Richard Bennet*, Esq; was the first Governor of *Virginia*, by the Election of the Colony, in the time of *Cromwell's* Usurpation; and the Re-

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main of the Family, now seated in *Maryland*, is still the richest and most wealthy, in all Kinds of Fortune and Estate, of any in this Part of *America*. However, since the *Somer-Islands* could not well subsist without the Profits of their Tobacco, and as the Territory of *Virginia* was large, their Soil good, and great Hopes conceived, that many other valuable Commodities would soon be produced and returned from thence, it was agreed, that the whole 55,000 Weight should be imported from those Islands; and the *Virginia* Company procured Storehouses, and appointed Factors, at *Middleburg* and *Flushing*, and compounded with the States of those Cities, for a Half Penny a Pound Custom, for the Import, and the same Rate for the Export, of their Tobacco. So that no *Virginia* Tobacco was imported into *England*, this Year, but all was carried and disposed of in *Holland*.

THE News of this State of their Affairs coming to *Virginia*, the Colony was greatly alarmed, and drew up an humble Petition to the King, setting forth: That his Majesty, out of his religious Desire to speed the Gospel of Christ, and princely Ambition to enlarge his Dominions, had given Encouragement to such, as would go to *Virginia*, and granted them many goodly Privileges and Liberties, under the great Seal of *England*, than which they thought no earthly Assurance more firm and inviolable: That in Confidence hereof, they, his Majesty's poor Subjects, had adventured their Lives and Fortunes thither; and in the Prosecution of the Enterprize, had undergone such incredible Difficulties and Sufferings, as would be shocking, in the Relation, to his Majesty's sacred Ears: That they had now, by the Divine Assistance, in some Measure, overcome those Difficulties, and brought themselves to an Ability of subsisting, without any other Help from *England*, than the usual Course of Commerce; but that they had, of late, been brought into Danger, of returning into their former, or even worse Circumstances, by the sinister Practices of some Members of the Company at home; who, pretending his Majesty's Profit, but really aiming at their own exorbitant Gain, had obtained a Proclamation, to prohibit the Importation of Tobacco into *England*: That other things, of greater real Value, required more time, than their pressing Necessities would allow, and more Help, to bring them to Perfection, than they had, till of late, been furnished withal; and that, therefore, Tobacco was the only Commodity, they had yet been able to raise, in order to supply themselves and Families with Apparel, and other needful Supplements of Life: That, if it should be thus suppressed and prohibited,

bited, they must all, of Necessity, perish, for Want of Cloathing, and such Necessaries, as both their Nature and Education required: That his Majesty would, thereby, not only lose so many good and loyal Subjects, as had adventured their Lives and Substance to *Virginia*, for the Promotion of those great Ends, the Glory of God, and his Majesty's Service, but must likewise be deprived of the Hope and Prospect, of acquiring a Territory, as large, and capable of becoming as opulent, as any of those Kingdoms, he at present possessed: Since therefore they were assured, that his Majesty tendered the Lives and Welfare of his Subjects, above Thousands of Gold and Silver, and since his Royal Word was engaged, and even ratified under the great Seal of *England*, they besought him, out of his princely Compassion, either to revoke that Proclamation, and to restore them to their ancient Liberty, or else to send for them home, and not suffer the Heathen to triumph over them.

THIS Petition was transmitted to the Treasurer and Company, and was seconded by a Letter, from Sir *George Yeardley* and the Council, to the Company; desiring, that it might be presented to his Majesty, in as humble and effectual a Manner, as possible; because, as they conceived, the very Life of the Colony depended upon the Success of it. But before it came to hand, the King was become sensible of the Damage, that hence accrued to himself, by the Diminution of his Customs. The Deputy therefore, and some others of the Company, were sent for, in *October* this Year, and received an angry Rebuke from the Lords of the Privy Council; importing, that Complaint had been made to that Board, that the Company had set up a Trade in *Holland*, and carried all their Commodities thither; and requiring an Answer, whether they would bring all their Commodities into *England*, or continue their Trade in the *Low-Countries*. To the former Part of this, the Answer was ready and obvious; that they had indeed carried their Tobacco to *Middleburg*, not out of Choice, but being constrained thereto by his Majesty's Proclamation, and an Order of their own Board. And as to the latter Part, concerning bringing all their Commodities into *England*, as it was a new and unexpected Proposition, and a Point of great Weight and future Consequence, they took some time to consider of it, and then returned a long and very respectful Answer:

THAT it was a Liberty and Privilege, generally taken and enjoyed, by all his Majesty's Subjects, to carry their Commodities to the best Markets: That many Commodities were now set on Foot, and expected soon to be returned from *Virginia*, which, altho' in some Demand in other

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Countries, yet would not be vendible in *England*, nor pay the Expence of Freight and Custom: That neither the *Muscovy* Company, nor any other ancient Corporation, was under such a Restraint, to whose greatest Privileges and Immunities, they were entitled, by the expresse Words of his Majesty's Charter: That the Company had granted several Patents, with the same Privileges, as they themselves enjoyed, to divers Persons of noble and worthy Families, who had thereupon expended great Sums of Money, and some their whole Estates in the Plantation; and that it was not in their Power, nor would it be consonant to Law or Equity, now to revoke or restrain them: That they conceived themselves to have no Right or Authority, to dispose of the Goods of the private Planters in *Virginia*, who are declared, by his Majesty's Charter, to be as free, as any other his Subjects, and who had merited, by their long and hard Services, all Manner of Immunity and Encouragement: That they could not forbid or restrain them, from trading and bartering their Commodities freely, with such Ships, as carried Passengers, most of which proceeded on trading Voyages, and returned not directly to *England*: That a Trade had lately begun between *Ireland* and *Virginia*, for Cattle and other Necessaries, for which Contracts were made in Tobacco; and that this Trade would hereby be nipped in the Bud, to the exceeding great Prejudice, and the Hazard of the utter Ruin of the Colony: And lastly, That it was not in the Power of the few Members of the Company, then in Town in the time of Vacation, to conclude any thing positive, in an Affair of that vast Importance; wherein above a thousand Adventurers in *England*, and near four thousand Inhabitants of *Virginia*, were deeply interested and concerned. After which they concluded, with assuring their Lordships, that they affected no foreign Trade, but in Cases of mere Necessity, and for the better Support and Advancement of the Colony; that they should always endeavour at such a mutual Commerce between *England* and *Virginia*, as should be consistent with the Honour and Benefit of both; and that, next to God's Glory, they chiefly aimed at the Good of their Country, his Majesty's Honour, and the Advancement of his Profit and Revenue; for which Ends, they had, out of their own private Estates, besides their Labour and Time, expended above an hundred thousand Pounds, without any Return, not only of Profit, but even of the least Part of the Principal itself, to any one of the Adventurers, that they knew of.

THIS Answer gave no Satisfaction to their Lordships; but they were referred to Mr. *Jacob*, their old Antagonist and

and Oppressor; and were likewise ordered, to give in their peremptory Answer, whether they would import, not all their Commodities, but all their Tobacco only, into *England*. With Mr. *Jacob*, they could come to no satisfactory Accommodation; and as to importing all their Tobacco into *England*, they besought their Lordships, to be left at Liberty, either to import, or not import it into *England*, as they should find it most beneficial to the Colony. But if they must be obliged to import all or none, they declared, it was their Choice, to import none into *England*, the ensuing Year. But their Lordships termed this an undutiful Answer, and commanded them, at their Peril, to bring all their Tobacco into *England*. And the Deputy and Committee, appointed to attend their Lordships, offering some Reasons, they were told, that they were not to dispute at that Board, but to obey; and so were dismissed, with high Marks of their Displeasure and Indignation.

THESE Proceedings, being reported to the Company, caused great Grief and Dejection among them. For the Importation of *Spanish*, and all other Tobaccos, was then free; and altho' the House of Commons, in their last Session, had entered into some Consideration about it, yet I cannot find, that any thing material was done in the Matter. And as to the King, out of his doating Fondness for the *Spanish* Match, and his eager Desire, to give all possible Pleasure and Advantage to his good Friend and Brother, the King of *Spain*, he was even active and diligent, to protect and advance the Importation of *Spanish* Tobacco. However the Deputy exhorted the Company, not to be discouraged at these Disasters. For he hoped, that God would still exert himself in the Protection of *Virginia*, who had turned for the best, divers former Projects, which threatned the Ruin and Destruction of the Colony. And he desired, that having put their Hands to the Plough, they would not now look back, or be weary of well-doing. For the Action was universally confessed, to be most christian, honourable, and glorious, and of extreme Consequence to the Commonwealth and Realm of *England*; and altho' they might seem to have cast their Bread upon the Waters, yet after many Days, he doubted not, but they should find it again, to their great Comfort and Advantage. And he farther told them, that altho' their exhausted Treasury had been able to do little, that Year, for sending People to *Virginia*, yet it had pleased God, to stir up so many worthy Minds, for the Advancement of the Colony, that no less than twenty Ships were already gone, or ready to go, in which would be transported above a thousand Persons. But

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1621. by Captain *Smith's* Account, there were twenty one Sail of Ships sent this Year, with thirteen hundred, Men, Women, and Children; which might likewise be true, as it was only *October*, and the Year not concluded, when Mr. Deputy *Farrar* made this Report to the Company.

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MR. *Copeland*, Chaplain to the *Royal James*, an *East-India* Ship just returned to *England*, by his Example and Persuasions, prevailed on the Ship's Company, to contribute seventy Pounds, towards building a Church or a Free-school in *Virginia*; and an unknown Person gave thirty Pounds more, to make the Benefaction an hundred; to which twenty five Pounds were afterwards added, by another unknown Person. It was therefore determined, to build a School at *Charles-City* (which was judged the most commodious Place, and most convenient to all Parts of the Colony) by the Name of the *East-India* School; and the Company allotted, for the Maintenance of the Master and Usher, a thousand Acres of Land, with five Servants and an Overseer. This School was to be collegiate, and to have Dependence upon the College at *Henrico*; into which, as soon as the College was sufficiently endowed, and capable to receive them, the Scholars were to be admitted and advanced, according to their Deserts and Proficiency in Learning. Mr. *Copeland* was also presented with the Freedom of the Company, and with three hundred Acres of Land in *Virginia*. And Carpenters were accordingly sent over for this Purpose, early the next Year.

Sir Francis
Wyat, Go-
vernor.

ON the 18th of *November*, Sir *Francis Wyat* entered upon his Government; but instead of his hundred Tenants, he received only forty six from Sir *George Yeadley*, who refused to make the Number good, as he was under no such Contract with the Company, when he came Governor, and as he had even offered to surrender them all back again, into the Company's Hands. Sir *Francis* sent Mr. *Thorpe* immediately, to *Opitchapan* and *Opechancanough*, to confirm all former Leagues, between the *English* and them. They both expressed great Satisfaction at the Arrival of this new Governor, and were content, that the *English* should inhabit the Country; and Mr. *Thorpe* thought, that he perceived more Motions of Religion in *Opechancanough*, than could easily be imagined, in so great Ignorance and Blindness. He acknowledged his own Religion, not to be the right Way; and desired, to be instructed in the *Christian* Faith. He confessed, that God loved the *English* better than them; and he thought, the Cause of God's Anger against them was their Custom of conjuring their Children, and making them black Boys. He had also some Knowledge

ledge of the Heavens ; had observed the North Star and the Course of the Constellation about it ; and called the Great Bear, *Manguahaian*, which, in their Language, signified the same. He gave Mr. *Thorpe* Hopes of their entertaining some *English* Families among them, and their sending some of theirs to cohabit with the *English* ; and confirmed a former Promise, of sending a Guide with the *English* to some Mines beyond the Falls. But all these fair Professions and Promises seem to have been only Dissimulation and Policy. For that savage Prince certainly never had any real Friendship or Love for the *English* ; but watched all proper Opportunities and Pretences, to do them Mischief, or even utterly destroy them. It was likewise ordered, upon the Accession of this new Governor, that the Colony should only tend a thousand Plants, for every Head, with nine Leaves on each Plant ; which, by their Computation, would amount to about an hundred Weight, according to the Company's express Instructions, in Consequence of his Majesty's Desire and Advice. Mr. *Gookin* too, who was under Contract with the Company for Cattle, arrived with them out of *Ireland*, on the 22d of *November* ; and he brought with him fifty Men of his own, and thirty Passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all Kinds of Provision, and seated himself at *Newport's-News*. The Inhabitants also made a Contribution of fifteen hundred Pounds, to build a Guest-House, for the Reception and Entertainment of New-Comers ; which was accordingly undertaken, and in a Way of being well executed, by Lieutenant *Jabez Whitaker*, to his own great Commendation, and to the general Satisfaction of the People here, and the Company in *London*.

BEFORE I finish this Year, it will not be improper, briefly to remark, what then passed in the Parliament of *England*. There were two Sessions of Parliament, this Year. The first began in *January*, and passed off peaceably. They granted the King Money, to support the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, against the House of *Austria* ; and were content to suppress some Monopolies, without touching on their Author, the Marquis of *Buckingham*, altho' he was generally known, and even plainly accused of it, by Sir *Henry Yelverton*, the late Attorney General. However I do not find, that the Monopoly of Tobacco came under their Restraint. Only the eminent Lawyers of the House of Commons declared the Patent for Garbling utterly illegal, and a great Grievance in the Erection, but much more so, if it should be brought into Execution. And this Session had also another good Effect : For at their very first Meeting,

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1621. ing, the Restraint on Tobacco was taken off, and Liberty given, at least by Connivance, freely to import it into *England*; which indeed, I suppose, was the Reason, that neither the Company's Petition was delivered, nor any thing else done in the House of Commons, with Relation to that unlawful, unjust, and oppressive Monopoly.

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THE second Session began the 20th of *November*, and was hot and angry. The Dispute between the King and the House of Commons, concerning the Extent of the Royal Prerogative, and the Rights, Franchises, and Privileges of Parliament, rose so high, that the King first adjourned, and then dissolved them, in a Passion. However, before that could be done, the Commons entered upon their Journals a Protestation, asserting their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges. But the King, eleven Days after the Adjournment, called for the Clerk of the House of Commons; and demanding the Journals, he declared, in full Council, and in the Presence of all the Judges then in Town, that it was invalid, annulled, void, and of no Effect; and did moreover, with his own Hand, take the said Protestation, out of the Journal-Book of the House of Commons. And not content with these Marks of his Displeasure, he proceeded farther against some of the warmest of the House of Commons; whom he stiled fiery, popular, and ill-tempered Spirits. Sir *Edwin Sandys* was imprisoned, during the Session, which caused a great Tumult in the House. And altho' the King, upon the House's sending a Message to Sir *Edwin*, to know the Reason of his Confinement, declared, in a Letter to the Speaker, that it was not for any Misdemeanor in Parliament, yet I suspect, his Imprisonment was designed, to prevent him from acting with Vigor, in the Case of the Monopoly, and other illegal Oppressions on Tobacco; and this the more especially, as I can no where find, that any Reason or Pretence was given for his Commitment. However the King's Opinion, concerning his Power over the Members, was plainly expressed in that Letter. For he orders the Speaker, to tell the House, in his Name, that he conceived himself, to have both Right and Ability, to punish any Man's Misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their sitting, as after; which Power he meant not hereafter to spare, as Occasion should be administered, by the insolent Behaviour of any of their Members. And agreeably to this Declaration, Sir *Edward Coke*, the great Lawyer, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *John Selden*, another Prodigy of Law and all Kinds of Knowledge, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Mallery*, were imprisoned, after the Recess, professedly for their Behaviour

haviour in Parliament. And Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Perrot*, were sent into *Ireland*, under Pretence of enquiring into sundry Matters, relating to his Majesty's Service in that Kingdom, but, in reality, by Way of Banishment. The Earls of *Oxford* and *Southampton* were likewise sent to the Tower, soon after the Dissolution, on some far-fetched, Pretences. But the true Reason was easily and publickly perceived, and that their real Crime was, having spoke too freely in Parliament, concerning the King's Conduct.

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I have made this Relation, not so much as it is a remarkable *Æra* in the *English* History, which gave Rise to two professed Parties, the one for the King's Prerogative, and the other for the Rights of Parliament and the Liberty of the Subject; nor as it was also the first open breach, between the King and the People, which, by subsequent Provocations and Heart-burnings, at last broke out, into a most unhappy and virulent Civil War. But I have mentioned these things chiefly, as they relate to my Subject, and will contribute to let the Reader more fully, into the Springs and Motives of some future Transactions. For it will be readily perceived, that many of the most eminent and active Opposers in Parliament, of the King's arbitrary Views, were also principal and leading Members of the *Virginia* Company; and it is well known, with what an Eye of Jealousy and Displeasure, that Prince ever looked upon such, as dared to stand up for the Liberty of their Country, or were so far infected, with the mortal Taint of a publick (or as he thought it) a republican Spirit, as to oppose his Claim to an unlimited and despotic Power. It will not therefore be surprizing, to find him hereafter, notwithstanding his many affected and anile Professions of Love and Affection to the Colonies, not only much disgusted at the Company, and little inclined to do them any Favour, but even, in their Dissolution, making a Stretch of that Prerogative, which many of them had the Boldness, to question and withstand.

BUT the Colony being now much enlarged and increased, it was found very troublesome, to bring all Causes to *James-Town*. Inferior Courts were therefore, in the Beginning of the Year 1622, appointed in convenient Places, to relieve the Governor and Council from this vast Burthen of Business, and to render Justice the more cheap and accessible. This was the Original and Foundation of our County Courts; altho' the Country was not yet laid off in Counties, but still continued in Townships and particular Plantations, as they called those Settlements, which were

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not considerable enough, to have the Title and Privileges of Burroughs.

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BUT this Year is rendered most memorable in our Annals, by a cruel and bloody Massacre, concerted by *Opechancanough* and the *Indians*, and executed on the *English* Colony, upon the 22d of *March*, on the following Occasion and Manner. There was a noted *Indian*, called *Nemattanow*, who was wont, out of Bravery and Parade, to dress himself up, in a strange antic and barbaric Fashion, with Feathers; which therefore obtained him, among the *English*, the Name of *Jack of the Feather*. This *Indian* was highly renowned among his Countrymen, for Courage and Policy; and was universally esteemed by them the greatest War-Captain of those Times. He had been in many Skirmishes and Engagements with the *English*, and bravely exposed his Person; yet by his Activity, Conduct, and good Fortune, he had always escaped without a Wound. This, aided by his Craft and Ambition, easily wrought, in the Minds of those ignorant and superstitious Barbarians a fond Conceit, that he was invulnerable and immortal. This Captain came to the House of one *Morgan*, who had many such Commodities, as suited the rude Taste of the *Indians*. Being smit with the Desire of some of those Baubles, he persuaded *Morgan* to go with him to *Pamunkey*, upon the Promise and Assurance of a certain and advantageous Traffick. But, upon the Way, he murdered the poor credulous *Englishman*; and within two or three Days, returned again to his House. There were only two sturdy Lads there, the late *Morgan's* Servants; who seeing him wear their Master's Cap, asked for their Master, and *Jack* frankly told them, he was dead. Being confirmed in their Suspicion, they seized him, and endeavoured to carry him before Mr. *Thorpe*, who then lived at *Berkeley*. But *Jack* so provoked them, by his Resistance and Insolence, that at last they shot him down, and put him into a Boat, in order to carry him before the Governor, who was then within seven or eight Miles of the Place. On the Way, our fainting Immortal felt the Pangs of Death very strong upon him, and earnestly entreated the Boys, to grant him two things; first, never to make it known, that he was slain by a Bullet; and secondly, to bury him among the *English*, that the certain Knowledge, and Monument of his Mortality, might be still concealed, and kept from the Sight of his Countrymen. Such was the Vanity of this poor Barbarian, and so strong his Desire of false Glory in the Opinion of others, against the Experience and plain Conviction of his own Sense.

Opechancanough

Opechancanough was a haughty, politic, and bloody Man, ever intent on the Destruction of the *English*, and ready to catch at every Pretence, for effecting his Purpose. He had been discovered, the Year before, tampering with a King on the *Eastern Shore*, to furnish him with a Poison, either real or supposed, in order to Poison the *English* Colony. He had also been accused to the Governor, of a Design, to draw together a very great Force, under Colour of celebrating some funeral Rites to *Powhatan*, but really with Intent to cut off all the *English*. But Sir *George Yeardley*, by this Information, was rendered very watchful of his Motions; so that he was either disappointed in his Scheme, or else, as Sir *George* thought, had never really formed any such Design. As to this Warrior; he was so far from being in his Favour, that he had sent Word to Sir *George Yeardley*, some time before, that he should be content, if his Throat were cut. Yet he being a popular Man, and much lamented by the *Indians*, *Opechancanough* pretended, the better to enflame and exasperate them, to be much grieved at his Death, and was very loud, at first, in his Threats of Revenge. But the Reason and Justice of the thing being evinced, and receiving also some stern and resolute Answers from the *English*, he cunningly dissembled his Intent for the present, and treated a Messenger, sent to him about the Middle of *March*, with extreme Civility and Kindness; assuring him, that he held the Peace so firm, that the Sky should fall sooner, than it should be violated on his Part. And such was the Treachery and Dissimulation of the rest of the *Indians*, that, but two Days before, they kindly conducted the *English* through the Woods, and sent home one that lived among them, to learn their Language. Nay, on the very Morning of that fatal Day, as also the Evening before, they came, as at other times, unarmed into the Houses of the *English*, with Deer, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other things to sell; and in some Places sat down to Breakfast with them. Yet so general was the Combination, and their Plot so well laid, to cut off the whole Colony, in one Day, and at the same Instant, that they had all Warning, one from another, through all their Habitations, though far distant from each other, and every Party and Nation had their Stations appointed, and Parts assigned, at the Plantations of the *English*, some being directed to one Place, and some to another.

THE *English*, on the other hand, were by this Behaviour, as well as on other Accounts, lulled into a fatal Security. They thought the Peace sure and inviolable, not so much because of their solemn Promises and Engagements,

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 vernor. } ments, as because it was highly useful and necessary to the
Indians themselves. For those poor, weak and naked Bar-
 barians were, every way, advantaged by the *English*. By
 the Peace, they were safely sheltered and defended from all
 other Enemies; they were supplied with several necessary
 Tools and Utenfils, and other Commodities of Pleasure and
 Entertainment; they were something acquainted with, and
 got a Taste of Civil Life; and were besides no ways in a
 Condition to withstand an *English* War, because of the
 Superiority of their Arms, the Advantage of their Disci-
 pline and native Courage, and their greater Skill in all mili-
 tary Arts and Stratagems. The *English* had likewise ever
 treated them, with the utmost Humanity and Kindness, out
 of the Hope and Desire, of thereby alluring and bringing
 them over, to the Knowledge of God and his true Religion.
 For nothing was more earnestly recommended from *En-
 gland*, or more heartily desired and endeavoured by many
 good and pious Persons of the Colony, than their Conver-
 sion; which, agreeably to the Spirit of the Gospel, and of
 the Protestant Religion, and greatly to the Honour of our
 Nation, was always pursued, by the Ways of Gentleness
 and Persuasion, and never by those unchristian Arguments
 of Fire and Sword. On all these Accounts, the *English*
 were so confident and secure, that there could seldom be met
 with, in their Houses, a Sword or a Firelock, and most of
 their Plantations were seated in a scattered and straggling
 Manner, as a convenient Situation, or a choice Vein of rich
 Land invited them; and indeed it was generally thought,
 the further from Neighbours the better. All *Indians* were
 kindly received into their Houses, fed at their Tables, and
 even lodged in their Bedchambers; so that they seemed,
 entirely to have coalesced, and to live together, as one
 People. And the *English* were so far infatuated, by an
 Opinion of their Simplicity, and of their Inclination, and
 even Interest, to maintain the Peace, that they lent them
 their Boats, as they passed backwards and forwards, to con-
 cert their Measures, and to consult upon the execrable De-
 sign of murdering and utterly extirpating the whole Nation.

THE Hour appointed being come, and the *Indians*, by
 reason of their Familiarity, knowing exactly, in what
 Places and Quarters every *Englishman* was to be found,
 rose upon them at once, sparing neither Sex nor Age, Man,
 Woman, nor Child; and they were so quick and sudden in
 their Execution, that few perceived the Weapon or Blow,
 that brought them to their End. Some entered their
 Houses, under Colour of Trade; others drew them abroad,
 upon specious Pretences; whilst the rest fell suddenly on
 those,

those, that were at their several Works and Labours. And thus, in one Hour, and almost at the same Instant, fell three hundred and forty seven, Men, Women, and Children; most of them, by their own Tools and Weapons, and all, by the Hands of a perfidious, naked, and dastardly People, who durst not stand the presenting of a Staff, in Manner of a Firelock, nor an uncharged Piece, in the Hands of a Woman. Neither were they content with their Lives only; but they fell again upon their dead Bodies, defacing, dragging, and mangling them into many Pieces, and carrying some Parts away, with a base and brutish Triumph.

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IN this Havock; six of the Council were slain. For those Blood-hounds, with equal Spight and Barbarity, murdered all before them, without any Remorse or Pity, and without having any Regard to Dignity, or even to those Persons who were best known to them, or from whom they had daily received many Benefits. Among these was that pious, worthy, and religious Gentleman, Mr. *George Thorpe*, Deputy to the College Lands, and both in Command and Desert, one of the Principal in *Virginia*. He had been of the King's Bed-Chamber, and was a Person of considerable Figure in *England*. Yet so truly and earnestly did he affect their Conversion, that he left all at home, and came over chief Manager to the College, a Foundation designed for their Education and Conversion. And here he severely punished, whosoever, under him, did them the least Displeasure. He thought, nothing too dear or precious for them, nor ever denied them any thing. Insomuch that, being frightened at the *English* Mastives, he caused some of them to be killed in their Presence, to the great Grief of their Owners, and would fain have had all the rest gelt, to make them mild and peaceable. He also built the King a handsome House, after the *English* Fashion; in which he took such Pleasure, especially in the Lock and Key, that he would lock and unlock his Door, an hundred Times a Day, and was so taken with the Device, that he thought nothing in the World comparable to it. And thus insinuating himself into that Barbarian's Favour, he would often confer with him about Religion; and that treacherous Infidel would seem much pleased with his Discourse and Company, and very desirous to requite all his Courtesy and Kindness. Yet did this ungrateful and viperous Brood, not only murder this good Gentleman, but with such Spight and Scorn abuse his dead Corps, as is unfit to be heard, or related. At the very Minute of the Execution, his Man, perceiving some Treachery, warned him to look to himself;

1622. and withal ran off, and so saved his own Life. But his Master, out of his good Meaning, was so void of Suspicion, and full of Confidence, that they had slain him before he could, or would believe, they intended any Harm. Captain *Nathaniel Powel*, another of the Council, who had some time been Governor of the Country, was also killed. He was one of the first Planters, a brave Soldier, had deserved well in all Ways, was universally valued and esteemed by all Parties and Factions, and none in the Country better known among the *Indians*. Yet they slew both him and his Family; and afterwards haggled their Bodies, and cut off his Head, to express their utmost Height of Scorn and Cruelty.

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vernor.

THIS Slaughter was a deep and grievous Wound to the yet weak and Infant Colony; but it would have been much more general, and almost universal, if God had not put it into the Heart of a converted *Indian*, to make a Discovery. This Convert, whose Name was *Chanco*, lived with one *Richard Pace*, who treated him, as his own Son. The Night before the Massacre, another *Indian*, his Brother, lay with him; and telling him the King's Command, and that the Execution would be performed the next Day, he urged him to rise and kill *Pace*, as he intended to do by *Perry*, his Friend. As soon as his Brother was gone, the *Christian Indian* rose, and went and revealed the whole Matter to *Pace*; who immediately gave Notice thereof to Captain *William Powel*, and having secured his own House, rowed off before Day to *James-Town*, and informed the Governor of it. By this Means, their Design was prevented at *James-Town*, and all such Plantations, as could possibly get Intelligence in time. For where-ever they saw the *English* upon their Guard, or a single Musket presented, they ran off, and abandoned their Attempt.

SUCH also, at other Places, as had sufficient Warning to make Resistance, saved their Lives. *Nathaniel Cause*, one of Captain *Smith's* old Soldiers, being cruelly wounded, did, with an Ax, cleave down one of their Sculls; and tho' they were all about him, yet they fled away, and he escaped. At another Place, two Men only, having Notice of their Design, defended a House against sixty or more, that assaulted it. At *Warraqueake*, one Mr. *Baldwin*, when his Wife was so wounded, that she lay for dead, yet by often discharging his Piece, drove them off, and saved both her and his House, together with himself and divers others. At Mr. *Harrison's*, about half a Mile from *Baldwin's*, was Mr. *Thomas Hamer*, with six Men, and eighteen or nineteen Women and Children. To him the *Indians*,

dians came, with many Presents and fair Professions. They pretended, they wanted Captain *Ralph Hamer*, to go to their King, then hunting in the Woods. Mr. *Hamer* sent immediately for his Brother, who was at a new House, he was then building. But he not coming according to their Wish, they set Fire to a Tobacco House, and came and told them in the Dwelling House of it. The Men ran towards it; and the *Indians* following, first shot them full of Arrows, and afterwards beat out their Brains. Mr. *Hamer*, having finished a Letter he was writing, ran out to see what was the Matter. But he soon received an Arrow in his Back, which obliged him to retire into the House, and barricade the Doors. Hereupon the *Indians* set Fire to the House; but *Harrison's* Boy, just at that Instant, finding his Master's Gun loaded, shot at Random. At the bare Report, the *Indians* all fled; and thereby left the Way open, to Mr. *Hamer* and twenty two more, to get to *Baldwin's* House. Captain *Ralph Hamer*, all this while, was wholly ignorant of what was passing; but coming to his Brother, who had sent for him, he met the *Indians*, chasing some of the *English*. Whereupon he retired to his new House, and with only Spades, Axes, and Brickbats, defended himself and his Company, till the Savages departed. Soon after, the Master of a Ship, lying near, and perceiving the Confusion, sent him six Musketeers; with whom he recovered their Merchant's Store-house, and armed ten more; and so, with thirty other unarmed Workmen, he found out his Brother and the rest, at *Baldwin's*. But in the Midst of this miserable Slaughter and Uproar, a little House and small Family, not far from *Martin's* Hundred, at which Place alone seventy three were slain, not only escaped, but never heard any thing of it, till two Days after.

At this time also, Captain *Raleigh Croshaw* was in *Patowmack* River, trading in a small Bark, commanded by Captain *Spilman*. There an *Indian* stole aboard, and told them of the Massacre; and that *Opechancanough* had been practising with his King and Country, to betray them, which they refused to do; but that the *Indians* of *Wighcocomoco* had undertaken it. Hereupon Captain *Spilman* went thither. But they, seeing his Men so vigilant and well armed, suspected themselves to be discovered; and therefore, the better to colour their Guilt, and delude him, they gave him such Satisfaction in his Trade, that his Vessel was soon near loaded. After this, Captain *Croshaw* went up to *Patowmack*. He had been long acquainted with that King; who now very earnestly entreated him, to stay with him, and to be his Friend, his Director, and Captain, against several

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1622. neighbouring Nations, his mortal Enemies. *Croshaw* very readily embraced his Offer; as well to promote some private Views of his own in Trade, as to keep him firm to the *English* Interest, and make him an useful Opponent and Instrument against *Opechancanough*. Therefore, relying on the Faith of this Barbarian, he ventured, with one Man only, to stay behind at *Patowmack*.

Sir Francis
Wyat, Governor.

IN the Beginning of this Year, before the Contrivance and Perpetration of this bloody Conspiracy in *Virginia*, the unknown Gentleman in *England*, who had given five hundred and fifty Pounds, towards the Conversion and Education of *Indian* Children, having waited two Years, and received no satisfactory Account of the effectual Prosecution of his Design, wrote a Letter to the Company. Herein he complains, that what was done in that Affair, did by no means answer his Expectation or Intent. And he requires, of the whole Body of the Company, towards which he expresses much Respect, and an entire Confidence in their Uprightness and Integrity, that, as he had entrusted the Disposal of that Money, a great and painfully gotten Part of his Estate, to their Care and Management, so they would see the same, speedily and faithfully applied, to the Use intended. And he further proposed to them, the procuring some of the male Children of the *Indians* to be brought over into *England* (where they might be immediately under the Company's Eye and Inspection) there to be educated and taught, and to wear a Habit, as the Children of *Christ-Church* Hospital do. In that Case, he desires, that the five hundred and fifty Pounds might be converted to that Use; and he faithfully promises, to add four hundred and fifty Pounds more, to make the former Sum a thousand, as soon as eight or ten *Indian* Children should be placed in *London*, either in *Christ's-Hospital*, or in the *Virginia* School or Hospital, as it might be called; which, he doubted not, would be Yearly augmented, by the Legacies and Gifts of good Men. But if they liked not this Proposition, then it was his humble Suit and Motion, that the former Gift, of five hundred and fifty Pounds, should be immediately applied, and wholly bestowed, upon a Free-school in *Southampton* Hundred, or such other Place, as he or his Friends should approve: That in this School, properly endowed with such Privileges, as they, in their Wisdom, should think fit, both *English* and *Indians* should be promiscuously taught and brought up together; and that great Care should be taken, to send over such a Master, as should bring a sound Testimonial, of his Sufficiency in Learning, and Sincerity of Life. And so praying, that the Lord would give them wise and under-

understanding Hearts, that his Work herein might not be negligent, ^{1622.} he concludes, and subscribes himself *Dust and Ashes*; a Name which he had ever, from the first, assumed and made Use of, in this Affair. Sir Francis Wyat, Governor.

THIS important Letter being read in Court, Sir *Edwin Sandys* gave the Company a particular Account of that whole Business: That the Money had been brought, in the Time of his being Treasurer: That, upon mature Deliberation, it was resolved by the Company, to divide it between *Smith's*, since called *Southampton Hundred*, and *Martin's Hundred*; each to undertake for a certain Number of *Infidel* Children: That *Martin's Hundred*, being then in a very weak and confused Condition, was afterwards, at the Entreaty of the Adventurers, eased from that Burthen and Charge, and the Whole laid on *Southampton Hundred*: That that Society, considering the Weight and Difficulty, as well as the Hazard of succeeding, were also very unwilling to meddle with it, and offered an hundred Pounds, to be added to the former five hundred and fifty, if they might be excused from it; but being earnestly pressed, they did at last yield to accept and undertake it: That after much and careful Consultation, it was agreed by that Society, to employ the said Money, together with a far greater Sum out of the Society's Purse, to furnish out Captain *Bluet*, with eighty able and sufficient Workmen, for setting up an Iron-Work in *Virginia*; whereof the Profits accruing, were intended and ordered, in a ratable Proportion, to be faithfully employed, in educating thirty *Indian* Children, according to the Directions and Intent of the Donor: That Letters were likewise sent to Sir *George Yeardley*, then Governor of *Virginia*, and Captain also of *Southampton* Plantation; not only giving him large Advice and Direction therein, but also commending the Excellency and Piety of the Design, and adjuring him to employ his utmost Care and Industry in it, as a Work, whereon the Eyes of God and Men were fixed: That in Answer hereto, Sir *George* informed them, how difficult it was to obtain any of the Children, with the Consent and good Liking of their Parents; as well on Account of their Tenderness and Fondness of them, as out of their Fear of hard Usage from the *English*: That he therefore recommended a Treaty with *Opechancanough*; which was accordingly ordered, and Sir *George* promised, to use his utmost Endeavours therein: That this Backwardness and Jealousy of the *Indians* was not the only Hindrance to that pious Work; for Captain *Bluet* dying soon after his Arrival, it occasioned another great Stop: That, however, Care had since been taken, to restore that

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Iron-Work, by a fresh Supply ; so that he hoped, the Gentleman would soon receive good Satisfaction, concerning the Disposál and Effect of his Charity, as he was sure, they would, at all times, be both ready and willing to give a faithful Account of the Employment of the said Money.

SIR *Edwin Sandys* further said, that as he could not but highly commend the Gentleman, for this his worthy and most christian Action, so he had observed great Inconveniency to arise from his Modesty, by shunning Ostentation and vain Glory, and concealing his Name. For they were thereby deprived of that mutual Help and Advice, which they might otherwise have, by Conference with him. Neither could he receive such clear Satisfaction, or fully know, with what Integrity and Care, the Affair had been managed ; the success whereof must be submitted to the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God, as it had been already commended to his Blessing. But as to the two Methods, now proposed in his Letter, he doubted greatly for his Part, whether either of them would attain the desired Effect. For, to send for them to *England*, would be far from answering the End, if he might judge from the Experience of those, brought over by Sir *Thomas Dale*. And to build a Free-school for them in *Virginia*, he feared, considering, in their present Dotage on Tobacco, that no proper Workmen could be had, but at excessive Rates, it would rather tend to exhaust this sacred Treasure in some small Edifice, than to accomplish such a Foundation, as might satisfy Mens Expectations and Desires. He therefore again wished, that a Meeting might be had, between the Gentleman, or his Friends, and the Society of *Southampton* Hundred. That so, all things being fully debated, and judiciously weighed, some Course might be entered upon and pursued, for advancing and bringing to Effect so pious and excellent a Work ; for which he prayed the Blessing of Almighty God to be upon the Author : And all the Company answered, and said, *Amen*.

BUT this charitable Gentleman, however studious he was to conceal himself, was afterwards (if any Credit may be given to Captain *Martin's* Report) found to be Mr. *Gabriel Barber*, the chief Manager and Book-keeper of their Lotteries, and a very worthy, honest, and useful Member of the Company. He was himself then present, and heard this Account, with which he seems to have been satisfied. For he made no farther Demand or Stir in the Matter ; but continued afterwards, in the time of their subsequent Quarrels and Dissensions, a very hearty and strenuous Friend to the Company. Mr. *George Ruggles* also, Fellow of *Clare-Hall*, in *Cambridge*, and a Brother of the Company, did, the

the latter End of this Year, notwithstanding the News of the Massacre, bequeath an hundred Pounds, for the Education of *Indians*. He is represented as a Gentleman, who was esteemed, in that Univerſity, ſecond to none in Knowledge and Learning, of very great Wiſdom and Underſtanding, of ſingular Honeſty and Integrity of Life, and very ſincere and zealous in Religion. And he had, for the three laſt Years of his Life, almoſt wholly exerciſed and employed his Time and Abilities, in the Service of the Colony. For, beſides the Counſels and Aſſiſtances of himſelf and his Brethren, in their ſeveral Places, he wrote divers Treatiſes, for the Benefit of the Plantation; particularly one concerning the Government of *Virginia*, which is often mentioned, in the Company's Records, with Commendation, eſpecially by Sir *Edwin Sandys*.

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BUT there ſucceeding, immediately upon this violent and injurious Aſſault, a continual and exterminating War between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, all the Difficulties of their Converſion were greatly encreaſed; and I do not find, what farther was done, with Relation to theſe Benefactions. The College People alſo received a great and deadly Slaughter in the Maſſacre; which, together with the Death of Mr. *Thorpe*, their grand Principle of Life and Action, cauſed them to abandon the College Lands, and to retire lower down the River, to ſuch Places as were more defenſible againſt the ſudden Aſſaults and Inroads of the *Indians*, becauſe of the greater Numbers of People, and the nearer Situation, and more ready Aſſiſtance, of other Plantations. Thus did that brutiſh and unhappy People tear up, as it were, with their own Hands, the Foundations, which had been laid, for their Converſion to Chriſtianity and Civility of Life. For altho' the Company, in *London*, did afterwards frequently enter upon ſerious Conſultation, about reſtoring again and ſetting forward this charitable Work, yet by reaſon of their own Troubles, and of the Factions and Diſcords among themſelves, nothing therein was ever brought to Effect. So that, from this time, there was no publick Attempt, nor any School or Inſtitution, purpoſely deſigned for their Education and Converſion, before the Benefaction of the late Honourable *Robert Boyle*, Eſq; which ſhall be fully related, in its proper Time and Place.

BUT whiſt the Colony in *Virginia* lay under the Preſſure and Calamity of this bloody Maſſacre, the Company in *England* were greatly rejoiced and encouraged, by the favourable Account of things, which they received, about that time, from the Governor and Council. For they were informed, by their Letters, that all the Ships were ſafely arrived, without

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without the Loss of one Person, by Sea or Land ; that Mr. *John Berkeley* had put the Iron Works in so good a Forwardness, that he doubted not to begin to make Iron, by *Whitsuntide* ; that the Cotton Trees prospered exceedingly well ; that the *Frenchmen* declared the Mulberry Trees of *Virginia* to be of the very best Kind ; and daily, by their Example, encouraged the People to plant them in Abundance, so that they were in high Expectation, of shortly succeeding in, and bringing to Perfection, that rich Commodity of Silk ; that the *French* Vignerons had conceived great Hopes, of speedily making Plenty of good Wine, whereof they had already made an Experiment, and sent home a Taste by that Ship ; and in short, that they now had a fairer Prospect, and more certain Hope, than ever yet, of soon becoming a rich and flourishing Country. For which joyful News, and happy Success, the Company voted and resolved, that a Sermon should be preached, to testify and express their Thankfulness to God, for his Blessing on their Labours and Undertaking. And Mr. *Copeland*, a Brother of the Society, who, by his hearty Zeal for the Enterprize, was well acquainted with the Success of their Affairs, for the last Year, was requested to undertake the Performance of this holy Exercise ; which he accordingly did, at *Bow Church*, the 17th Day of *April*.

MR. *Copeland* was also himself, soon after, publicly entreated by the Company, to go over in Person to *Virginia*, and to apply himself to the Ministry there. And in Consideration of his good Services and worthy Endeavours, which had redounded much to the Honour and Benefit of the Colony, as also in Respect of his known Sufficiency and Worth, they constituted him one of the Council of State, and appointed him Rector of the College for the Conversion of *Indians*, to receive, as a Salary, the tenth Part of the Profits arising from their Lands and the Labours of their Tenants ; and also to have the Pastoral Charge of the College Tenants about him, which were to be erected into a Parsonage, according to the Company's general Order in that Behalf. But this Design, together with all their sanguine Hopes and Ideas of an immediately rich and prosperous Country, was dashed to Pieces, and cut off, by the Massacre. The Iron-Work on *Falling Creek*, in particular, was entirely ruined and demolished, and Mr. *John Berkeley* slain, with all his Workmen and People, except one Boy only and a Girl, who found Means to hide themselves, and escape. Their Preparations likewise, for other Commodities and Manufactures ; were quite destroyed and deserted ; the People, all this Summer, being in such a State of Terror

ror and Flight, that they did not even make Corn for their Support and Subsistence.

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To this sad Posture of Affairs in the Colony, was added the continual Increase of the Company's Dissensions and Animosities at home, which became daily more furious and irreconcilable. Captain *Argall* and that Faction, omitted no imaginable Methods of Vexation and Trouble; and the more to disparage and perplex the Company's Proceedings, they were perpetually raising new Authors and fresh Subjects of Complaint, as well to the Publick, as most especially to the King, and to the great Lords and powerful Persons of his Court. It hath been already said, that Captain *John Martin* came over, one of the Council of State, in the first Adventure; and there hath been frequent Occasion since, to mention his weak Conduct and Behaviour here. This Gentleman was well born, and nearly related to Sir *Julius Caesar*, then Master of the Rolls. In the Time of Sir *Thomas Smith's* Treasurership, he had surreptitiously obtained a Grant, to be Master of the Ordinance in *Virginia*; as also a most extravagant and illegal Patent for Land, at the Place, which he himself named *Martin's Brandon*. For, by the expresse Words of his Majesty's Charter, the Company was restrained to their four great and general Quarter Courts, one to be held each Term, for transacting any Business of great Importance, and particularly for granting Lands in *Virginia*. But both these Grants, to Captain *Martin*, had been passed in a private Court, called purposely for that Jobb, and could never after receive the Assent and Confirmation of a Quarter Court. For the Company, being apprised of the Matter, strongly opposed their Execution, and endeavoured to keep them from taking Effect. Captain *Argall* in particular, when Governor of *Virginia*, had sent home grievous Complaints, against the Exorbitancies of *Martin's* Patent and Behaviour; and both Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson*, at that time Treasurer and Deputy of the Company, had been willing and assisting, to stop and prevent these Grants from being further confirmed, and receiving the legal Sanction of a Quarter Court.

BUT now, the Company's withholding Captain *Martin* from the Fruition of those Privileges and Immunities, which appeared to have been granted under their Seal, being, at first Sight, a specious Pretence of Clamour and Complaint, which might be turned to disgrace and vilify the Justice and Honour of their Proceedings, these very Gentlemen instigated and assisted him, to get a Certificate under the Hands of several noble Lords, and others, and to have it delivered in to the Company, by one Captain *Hafwell*. The Pur-
port

1622. port of this Writing was: That whereas *John Martin* Esq; having been a long and faithful Servant to the Colony of *Virginia*, desired a Testimonial of his Carriage and De-meanor in all things, according to their Knowledge and the Truth, they did thereby certify: That, by the general Consent of his Majesty's Council in *England*, for *Virginia*, the said Captain *John Martin* was, in the Face of the publick and open Court, elected, chosen, and sworn, one of his Majesty's first Council of *Virginia*: That afterwards, in the said honourable and open Court, he was, with the free and full Consent thereof, appointed, chosen, and sworn, Master of the Ordinance in the said Colony: That, besides his first Adventure, which was very laudable and good, he had, ever since, constantly and very worthily endured all the Miseries and Calamities of fore-past Times, with the Loss of his Blood, the Death of his only Son (the sole Hope and Comfort of his Age) together with Sickness, Famine, and many other inexpressibly hard and miserable Sufferings: That he had also providently and very carefully endeavoured all the Good and Benefit to the Plantation, that was in his Power; in all things, upholding and labouring to maintain, with equal Justice and Clemency, all his Majesty's Laws, Prerogatives, and Rights whatsoever: That for these honest and worthy Services, They, the Company and Council for his Majesty, resident in *England*, had formerly granted him sundry Privileges, by Charter under their Great Seal, for settling a private Plantation upon his own Allotment of Land in *Virginia*; wherein he had since proceeded with much Charge and Expence, and for which they neither saw nor knew any Reason, why he should not be permitted to enjoy the same, according to the true Intent and Meaning of his said Grant.

THIS Certificate was signed by the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, *Leicester*, and *Montgomery*, by Lord *Sheffield*, Sir *Robert Mansel*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Alderman *Johnson*, Captain *Argall*, and a few others, to the Number of twelve in all. Being presented to the Company, they conceived themselves much wronged and affronted, that a few Members of their Body should, in this Paper, assume to themselves the Name and Authority of the whole Company; styling themselves, *We, the Company and Council for his Majesty, here resident in England*. And they found themselves under a Necessity of doing something, to avoid the foul Aspersions, contained therein, as if they now went about to disavow their own Act and Deed; as also to prevent the evil Consequences, that might follow, and the ill Constructions, that might be made thereon. Being therefore

fore fully apprised, that some of the Lords, and others, had been mislead and betrayed into it, by the false Representations and malicious Practices of the rest, they drew up an Answer, and ordered their Secretary to make divers Copies thereof, which they entreated Sir *John Davers* and Mr. *Tomlins*, to deliver, as well to such Lords as had signed the Certificate, as also to his Majesty's Masters of Request. For, by representing Captain *Martin*, as labouring to maintain the King's Laws, Prerogatives, and Rights (a Stile exactly suited to the Taste and Views of the Court) it was easy to perceive, which Way it was chiefly intended and addressed. But as to the other Subscribers, the Secretary was commanded, to deliver each of them a Copy himself.

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IN this Answer they set forth: That the Company are limited and directed, by his Majesty's Charters, to their Quarter Courts only, for passing of all Matters of greatest Weight, and particularly for disposing of Lands in *Virginia*: That, contrary to this fundamental Law, notoriously known to all the Company, and frequently published and declared to the Planters, as an Ordinance from his Majesty to be inviolably observed, Captain *Martin's* two Grants were presented to an inferior private Court, ready engrossed, the Company not being before acquainted with the Matter: That by this Court, called extraordinarily, and as it seems, for this Business only, the said Patents were unlawfully and unduly passed, notwithstanding the Dissent and Opposition of divers then present; and that they never could afterwards have the Confirmation of a Quarter Court: That the said Patent for Land contained sundry transcendent Liberties and exorbitant Privileges, apparently repugnant to Justice and the good Government of the Colony, and which the Company, by his Majesty's Charters, had no Power to grant: That therein was given an Exemption of all the People within the Limits of his Patent, from the Command and Government of the Governor and Council, and from all other Charges and Services of the Colony whatsoever, except in Case of War only; as likewise a Grant of an unlimited Fishing, of the fifth Part of all rich Mines, with many other general and indefinite Liberties: That, under Colour of these extraordinary Privileges, many great Inconveniences had arisen, to both the Company and Colony: That Captain *Martin* refused to submit himself to the Laws and Orders of Government there: That his Plantation was made a Receptacle and Harbour for all dissolute Persons, who fly thither from ordinary Justice: That all these, and many other Mischiefs, had been often complained of by the Colony, in their particular and general

1622. *Sir Francis Wyat, Governor.* ral Assemblies; as also by the Governors there, and most especially by Captain *Argall*, notwithstanding his Subscription to this Certificate: That, upon his Letter to the Company, an Order was made, in a Great and General Quarter Court, held in *May* 1618, and a Committee appointed, to examine and reform the said Patent: That *Sir Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson* then presided, as Treasurer and Deputy to the Company; so that it seemed strange to them, to find their Hands also to that Certificate, contradicting the Act of that Great Court, wherein themselves were the principal Managers and Directors: That the said Inconveniencies had moreover been lately testified, by several Persons, before the Company, in open Court: But that the Company had nevertheless frequently offered, and was always ready to grant Captain *Martin* (whose Merits they should be glad to hear of, and to cherish) upon the Surrender of his former, a new Patent, with as large and ample Privileges, as any other had, or could enjoy.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Truth, Justice, and Reasonableness of this Answer, Captain *Martin* preferred a Petition to the King, containing many scandalous Suggestions, as well against the whole Body of the Company, as against some special Members in particular. And he obtained an Order from his Majesty, to have his Cause heard and determined, at *Sir Thomas Smith's* House, before such Referees, as he himself named; among which were those, who chiefly instigated and set him on. In Answer to this, the Company made two Addresses; one to the Referees, in like Manner as they had done in the Case of the Certificate; and the other to the King, as well to clear the Company and such particular Persons, as stood accused and defamed in *Martin's* Petition, as also to inform his Majesty, that some of those, unto whom the Reference was procured, were violently suspected, to be Captain *Martin's* chief Abettors and Supporters in this Affair. They therefore desired, that the Matter might be referred, together with those Lords in *Martin's* Reference, to certain other Lords of the Privy Council, whom they named. But upon Lord *Cavendish's* presenting this, his Majesty said, that he was much surprised at this new Custom, lately sprung up, that Petitioners should chuse their own Referees. To which his Lordship answered; that, in that Point, Captain *Martin* had been their Example, who in his Petition, which his Lordship then produced and shewed his Majesty, had named his own Referees, which his Majesty had approved and appointed accordingly.

BUT

BUT not content to give the Company this Trouble and Disturbance, Captain *Martin*, together with one Captain *Robert Hasiwell*, presented another Petition to his Majesty, setting forth: That in the Time of Sir *Thomas Dale's* Government, there was a large Quantity of Woodland, Marsh, and other Ground, being in Circumference by Estimation about fourscore Miles, for which Sir *Thomas Dale* compounded with *Powhatan*, the Indian King, and bounded the same by Trees, and other Marks of perpetual Knowledge and Remembrance, with a solemn Procession of many of his Majesty's Subjects, then and there living, commanding Notice to be taken thereof, to be, and always so called and entitled, *The King's Forest*: That within the said Forest, there was of Deer and wild Hogs a very great Number; which being preserved, with Care and Judgment, from the Spoil and Havock, which continually was, and would be made, both of them and their Brood, the Colony might therein have a constant Stock and Support, and Shipping might, at all times, be plentifully victualled and supplied: And that there were besides, within those Limits, many other profitable Commodities, already known. They therefore humbly besought his most sacred Majesty, to take the said Forest into his own Royal Hands, and to appoint some honourable Person, to be Commander thereof, authorising him, to give Order for converting the Plantations thereon to his Majesty's best Use and Behoof, and for appointing a Justice of Oyer, and Rangers, with such other Officers, as should be thought most proper and convenient for the said Forest and Plantation.

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To such a Height of Falshood, Fraud, and Imposture, did the Passions of these unhappy Men carry them, as thus to give the King at once, as far as it was in their Power, all the Lands and Possessions of a very great and principal Part of the Colony; who had, by their Labours and Sufferings, struck out new Branches of Trade and Profit to the King and Nation, and well deserved all Manner of Indulgence, and the utmost Security and Stability in their Properties. But King *James* was not of a Temper, to forego any Views of Profit and Advantage. He therefore referred the Examination of the Matter to Sir *Christopher Perkins*, one of the Masters of Requests; who summoning the Company, received for Answer:

THAT they held not their Lands from King *Powhatan*, nor acknowledged any King of *Virginia*, but King *James*: That it was true, for a perpetual Memorial and permanent Honour to his Majesty and his Royal Issue, they had named their chief Towns, and other most remarkable Places, after the

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the King and his Children: That they however supposed, this did no way alter the Property of Inheritance in those Places, which his Majesty, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, had granted to the said Company, for and throughout all *Virginia*: That as to the King's Forest, it was a Name happily known to Captain *Martin* and his Associates, but never before heard of by the Company: That within the Circuit, which they had been pleased to appropriate for the Forest, were placed *James-City*, their chief Town, and Place of Residence for the Governor and Council, and divers other principal Seats and Plantations: That as for the Deer, it was true, the whole Country did generally abound in them; but the Swine were no other, but the Breed of such as had been transported thither by the Company: That Captain *Martin* was a Person, who had ruined his own Estate, (if ever he had any) as also the Estates of others, who had put him in Trust: That he made his Territory in *Virginia* a Receacle of Vagabonds and Bankrupts; and was famous for nothing, but all Kinds of base Conditions and Actions, as had been published in Print, above ten Years before: That he had been therefore displaced from the Council, by Lord *Dela-warr*, as a most unworthy Person, who had presumed, of his own Authority, no ways derived from his Majesty, to pass unjust Sentence of Death upon divers of his Majesty's Subjects, and to see the same put into cruel Execution: That it was therefore a Matter of great Surprise to them, to find such a Man dare to offer himself to his Majesty, as an Agent, either for Matter of good Husbandry, or good Government: That as to Captain *Hafwell*, he was neither Adventurer in the Company, nor Planter in the Colony, but a mere Stranger to both; nor otherwise known to them, than as Interpreter to a *Polonian* Lord, of his own creating: That however, if the King was pleased, to have a Royal Domain laid off for him in *Virginia*, nothing could be more joyful and agreeable to the said Council and Company, nor wherein they would more willingly employ their Endeavours.

AT the same time, Mr. *Pierce*, who had been Cape-Merchant in *Virginia*, understanding, that Captain *Martin* denied, that he ever protected any within his Territories, averred, that he had delivered several Warrants, to be served upon Persons, that lived loosely within Captain *Martin's* Plantation, and that the Provost Marshal made Return, that the said Captain *Martin* resisted the Officer, and drew Arms upon him, and would not suffer him to execute the said Warrants. Others also affirmed, that it

was

was generally reported in *Virginia*, that Captain *Martin's* Plantation was a Place of Refuge for all Debtors; and that, if he had been of Power, there would have been no living in *Virginia*. To which Mr. *Jefferson* added; that, to his Knowledge, Captain *Martin*, being summoned; had refused to obey the General Assemblies. All which, they all declared themselves to be ready and willing, whenever required, to confirm and justify upon Oath. Wherefore, in a Case of this clear Evidence and Truth, Captain *Martin* was not able to carry his Point against the Company. He was afterwards induced to deliver up his illegal Patent in open Court, to be cancelled; and Orders were given for drawing a new one, with as large and ample Privileges, as the Earl of *Southampton*, or any other Adventurer had. But when this was drawn, Captain *Martin* complained, that he was therein abridged of a great Quantity of Land, granted in his former Patent. For, in that, ten Shares were given him, in Reward of his Services; and he pretended, that each of those Shares ought to be five hundred Acres of Land; and he therefore claimed five thousand Acres. For this, he desired that Spot of Land, as he called it, at *Martin's Brandon*, where he had formerly seated, containing about six thousand Acres, with all Marshes and sunken Grounds thrown in, as an Overplus. But the Court, having never heard of any Shares of five hundred Acres, and finding it expressly directed by their Charters, that no Share should exceed an hundred Acres, absolutely refused to grant his Demand. However, to give him Satisfaction, if possible, they gave him to a certain Day, to produce any Instance or Evidence, that there had ever been Shares of five hundred Acres, and promised, to shew him all lawful Favour. But he afterwards perversely demanded the Re-delivery of his old Patent; and the Court, being quite wearied out with his Obstinacy and Impertinence, gave him for their last and resolute Answer; That, if he would accept such a Patent, as they could lawfully grant, he might have it; but as for his old Patent, they could not deliver it to him again, being void, not so much by his Resignation, as by the Extravagance and Illegality of the Grant itself. Whereupon he went away, and never spared, upon all Occasions, to load many very worthy and deserving Members of the Company, with all possible Scandal and Reproach. But at last he accepted the new Patent, and pretended to be fully reconciled to the Company; and came to *Virginia*, with a Recommendation from the Privy Council, and by their Means and Interposition, even from the Company themselves; which Favour he

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1622. accordingly requited, by propagating and spreading through the Country all the Falshoods and Calumnies against them, that he could invent or utter.

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BUT besides Captain *Martin*, some others were raised up and suborned, to give in Complaints to the King, against the Company. One *Adam Dixon*, in his Petition, pretended to have been hired, for the Service of the Company and Colony, as Master-Calker of their Ships and Vessels in *Virginia*, at thirty six Shillings a Month, and that having served them many Years, he only had received three Pounds thirteen Shillings; so that there was now due to him an hundred and fifty Pounds, or thereabouts: That Captain *Argall* also, in the time of his Government, had given him and one *John Berry* a Piece of uncleared Ground, on which they had expended an hundred Pounds in a House; but that, contrary to all Justice and Equity, they had been turned out of their said House and Ground, the former Year, by Sir *George Yeardley*, to their great Discomfort and utter Undoing. To this the Company answered: That the Matters of the said Petition were to them utterly unknown; that there was not, in their Books, the least mention of any such Officer or Contract; neither had they any Inducements, to believe it to be true: That if any such thing had passed, it must have been in Sir *Thomas Smith's* Time, to whom they referred him, for Answer and Satisfaction: That as to the Outrage and Wrong, pretended to have been done by Sir *George Yeardley*, the Petitioner had never yet complained thereof to them; but they would take a Course for speedy Justice therein, by commending the Matter to the Care and Examination of the Governor and Council in *Virginia*. And the Affair was accordingly examined and tried in our General Court, the 21st of *January* 1623-4. It then appeared, by the Oath of *Thomas Gates* and the said *Adam Dixon*, that they, together with *John Berry* and *Thomas Dingley*, were hired by Sir *Thomas Smith*, upon Wages, for a certain Term; that their Wages were not only never paid, but they themselves were detained, many Years longer, in very hard Servitude; and that at last, to free themselves, they were obliged to give Captain *Argall* an Acquittance, under their Hands, for their Wages; without which, he threatened, they should never be set free. And they further swore, that Captain *Argall* kept them a Year after, in his own proper Service, without any Allowance of either Wages or Cloaths. But I cannot find, in our Records, that they prosecuted or made any Complaint here, against Sir *George Yeardley*, about their House and Land.

ONE *William Kemp* also presented a Complaint to his Majesty, of the Grievances of certain Inhabitants of *Kicquotan* in *Virginia*; that *William Julian*, *John Bush*, and some others, ancient Planters, and deserving Inhabitants of the best mechanical Trades, had been turned out of their lawful Possessions, by Sir *George Yeardley*, with many Circumstances of Oppression and Cruelty. To which the Company answered: That the Parties, pretended to be wronged, had never made any Complaint to them: That *Kemp* had been in *England* above a Year, and had never laid the Matter before the Council and Company, where Justice might have been done: That he did not even pretend to have Authority from the Parties grieved, to exhibit this Complaint to his Majesty: That they therefore saw no Cause, to believe his Allegations to be true; but suspected him, rather to be set on by the Malice of others, than moved by his own Zeal for Right and Justice: That however, according to their Custom in Causes of the like Nature, they would, by the first Opportunity, transmit this Complaint to the Governor and Council in *Virginia*; that, if there appeared any Truth in any Part thereof, they might proceed, as well to the due Redress of the said Grievances, as to the condign Punishment of the Authors and Delinquents. And this Complaint appears, from our Records, to have had this Foundation in Truth and Matter of Fact; that some Persons had set down, at *Kicquotan*, upon the publick Land of the Company, and were obliged, by the Governor and Council, to go off. But they however had, either by this time or afterwards, (I cannot exactly say which) Satisfaction made them for their Clearing and Improvements.

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CAPTAIN *Matthew Somers*, who had returned to *England* with his Uncle's Body, in the Year 1610, had, long before this, been a Prisoner in the King's Bench. From thence he often pelted and tiezed the Company, with an extravagant Demand for his Uncle's Adventure; and altho' something considerable in Adventure appeared, by their Books, to be due to Sir *George Somers*, yet they refused to pass it over to him, because he had an elder Brother in the Country, who was Heir at Law to Sir *George*, and he could not make sufficient Proof, that either his Uncle had bequeathed it by Will, or that his Brother had made over all his Right and Interest therein to him. In this time therefore of presenting Petitions to the King, Captain *Somers* also preferred his; informing his Majesty: That Sir *George Somers* was forced, by Strefs of Weather, to save himself and Company, on the Islands of *Bermudas*, where he lost his

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Ship, and soon after, his Life : That he, the Petitioner, being his immediate Heir, and then present, built a small Bark, to convey his Company to *England*; and left three Men, to continue the Possession of those Islands, in his Majesty's Name : That the *Virginia* Company, hearing of this Discovery, challenged those Islands, as their Right, altho' they were above an hundred Leagues without the Limits of their Grant ; and they sent a Governor, with Men, to take the Possession from his Majesty : That finding the Petitioner's Men had, by their Industry, found a Cake of Ambergrease of an hundred and sixty Pounds Weight, the said Governor took it violently from them, for the Use of the Company, who sold it for twelve thousand Pounds, and likewise threatened Violence to the poor Men, to make them confess more : That the said Company, shortly after, sold the said Islands to a particular Company, for two thousand Pounds ; and the poor Petitioner could never yet obtain any thing, either for his Adventure or otherwise, altho' he had long and often solicited it, to his great Charge and utter Undoing : That these, and no other Comforts, could they, the ancient Adventurers, receive from the Company ; and therefore he humbly besought his Majesty, to take into Consideration his own Royal Rights therein, and to give Order for the Relief of him, the poor Petitioner.

To this false and exaggerated Account of that Affair, the *Somer-Islands* Company gave in, for Answer, much the same in Substance and Purport, as I have before related concerning it. And as for Captain *Somers*, they deny him to have any just Pretence, to stile himself, either an ancient Adventurer, or Planter. For he made a very short Abode there ; and contrary to his Duty and Trust, returned suddenly to *England*, where he had ever since continued, without performing the least Service to either Plantation. They confess, that a Block of Ambergrease of very great Value was found, of which they got about a third Part ; but were not able to deliver in an exact Account of its Worth, because Sir *Thomas Smith*, at that time Governor and Treasurer of their Company, had hitherto refused to give in any Account of their Treasury. And they further say, that they conceived the Right to that Ambergrease to be in the *Virginia* Company, at whose Charge, and in whose Service, those three Men had been set out and employed ; but that they had nevertheless, since compounded with the Finders, so that none of them had any just Cause of Complaint, and least of all Captain *Somers*, who could have no Title or Pretence of Interest therein.

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As Captain *Argall* had been long and actively employed in *Virginia*, and was consequently well acquainted with most Persons and Passages there, he was strongly suspected to be at the Bottom of these Complaints and Petitions against the Company. They therefore, on their Part, resolved to pursue their Prosecution against him with greater Vigor; and they appointed a select Committee, to warn him peremptorily to exhibit his Accounts, and to make a full and substantial Answer to such things, as the Company should charge him withal. But he, being a Man of good Sense and Capacity, and of great Industry and Resolution, still foiled and perplexed their Proceedings, and gave them much Trouble and Annoyance, without their being able to bring him to any Account or Punishment, for all his unrighteous Gains and Extortions in *Virginia*.

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CAPTAIN *Samuel Each* was sent, this Summer, in a large Ship of three or four hundred Tons, to build a Blockhouse or Fort, on those Banks which lie out in *James River*, near *Blunt Point*. This was designed, to command the Passage up the River; and it was judged, by divers of the Inhabitants, to be that, which ought first to be attempted, and would be most easily effected. Captain *Each* also, who was esteemed a very honest and skilful Man, having viewed the Place, when in *Virginia*, thought the thing very feasible. But this Undertaking, like many others, ended with great Charge to the Company, and without any real Effect or Advantage. However, in this Ship went over the Lady *Wyat*, and Mr. *Barret*, a Master-Shipwright, (whom Captain *Smith* calls Captain *Barwick*) with twenty five Men, to build Ships and Boats, together with many House-carpenters for the *East-India* School, and other Uses. All these Persons, for publick Services, were sent in the common Method, used ever since the Company's Fund was exhausted, by the voluntary Subscription of the Adventurers to a Roll. And I likewise find, that one Mr. *Howe*, who styles himself a Chronicler, made a Demand upon the Company, about this time, for twelve Pounds of Tobacco; which, he said, had been promised him annually, in Consideration of his Pains and Willingness to serve the Company, and to relate, in his Book, the several Passages concerning *Virginia*. They granted him his Pension for that Year, which he most thankfully accepted. But he either never performed the Service, or is at least a Writer of that Obscurity and Insignificancy, that I neither know, nor can find any thing of him.

BEFORE the Election of Officers came on this Year, the Company, in a previous Court, expressed their great

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Satisfaction in the Earl of *Southampton's* Administration; and they made it their humble Desire and Entreaty to his Lordship, which was entered upon their Records, that he would vouchsafe, to hold the Place of Treasurer, for one Year more. But the Earl of *Southampton* was very obnoxious to the Court, on Account of his Principles of Liberty, and his bold and resolute Opposition to an excessive Prerogative. The King therefore endeavoured once more, to put him out of the Government of the Company. For, at the time of Election, Alderman *Hamersley* and Mr. *Bell* delivered a Message, in his Majesty's Name, signifying: That altho' it was not his Design or Desire, to infringe their Freedom of Election, yet it would be highly pleasing to his Majesty, if they would make Choice, for Treasurer and Deputy, of any of those Gentlemen, whose Names were written in a Paper, then presented to the Court. In this, Sir *John Wolstenholme*, Sir *William Russel*, Mr. *Clitheroe*, Mr. *Maurice Abbot*, and Mr. *Handford*, were proposed to their Choice for Treasurer; and for Deputy, Mr. *Leat*, Mr. *Robert Offley*, Mr. *Stiles*, Mr. *Abdy*, and Mr. *Bateman*. The Company expressed great Joy and Satisfaction, for this Testimony of his Majesty's Notice and good Wishes to the Colony, and of his gracious Intention, not to infringe their Privilege of free Election. But because, by their Rules and Orders, three only at a time could stand for either of those Places, they first put it to the Vote, which two, of the five recommended by the King for Treasurer, should be put in Election, with one, whom the Company should name. Mr. *Clitheroe* and Mr. *Handford* were chosen to stand in Election, and the Company named the Earl of *Southampton*; who was, upon the Ballot, chosen by a vast Majority, he having an hundred and seventeen Balls, Mr. *Clitheroe* thirteen, and Mr. *Handford* seven. In like Manner, they chose Mr. *Leat* and Mr. *Bateman*, to stand for the Place of Deputy Treasurer, to whom the Company added Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, who was also elected, by having an hundred and three Balls, Mr. *Bateman* ten, and Mr. *Leat* eight.

THE Earl of *Southampton* was then absent; and indeed seems, purposely to have abstained from their Courts at such times, to shew, that these things were carried, not by any Art or Ambition of his own, but merely by the free Choice, and unbiassed Affection of the Company. But Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, being present, took his Place, as Deputy Treasurer, and returned Thanks to the Company, for this honourable Testimony of their Love and Esteem, wherein he should, all his Life, exceedingly glory and rejoice. And he farther declared his Sense of the Weight and Difficulty of the

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Office, and of his own Inability. But not to trouble them with any self-denying Intreaties, he promised, to the Utmost of his Power, to perform the Charge they had laid upon him; and besought the Honourable the Lords, and the other worthy Gentlemen and Officers, with their Counsels to direct, and the whole Court, with their Presence to assist him, in the Execution of his Office. And, in particular, he desired them, to request his Brother, Mr. *John Farrar* (in Confidence of whose Assistance and Direction, he well knew, they had chosen him) to continue the same Care and Pains, he had formerly done. Whereupon Mr. *John Farrar* promised, not to slack any thing of his former Zeal and Diligence, in the Business; and the Company, in thankful Acknowledgement and Approbation of his great and faithful Services, in the Place of Deputy-Treasurer, for the three last Years, bestowed upon him twenty Shares of Land, old Adventure. And they further ordered, that together with the Gift, it should be entered on their Records, that the Court conceived his Services and Merits to be so great, that had not their Liberality been bounded, within the Compass of twenty great Shares, they would, for him, have exceeded it with a much larger Proportion. And the same Quantity had also been bestowed upon Sir *Edwin Sandys*, in his Absence, the former Year, with a like honourable Testimony and Acknowledgment of his Services and Deserts.

THE Company also requested the Lords *Cavendish*, *Paget*, and *Houghton*, to present their most humble Thanks to his Majesty, for his Remembrance and good Wishes to their Affairs; and to inform him, with what Reverence and Respect, his Message was received; but that the Election had fallen upon the Earl of *Southampton*, with an almost unanimous Consent, the Company having found, that the Plantation had prospered, each of the three last Years, more than in ten before; and that more had been done with ten thousand Pounds, than formerly with fourscore thousand. And they further conceived, that as their Staple Commodities were then in establishing and perfecting, and as the Government of the Country was to be settled and confirmed, equal Sufficiency, in their Governors and Directors, would not so much advance the Plantation, as the Variableness of Instructions and Methods, in the Change of Officers, proceeding from different Conceptions and Ways of thinking, would prejudice and retard the Business. But his Majesty was not well pleased to find, that out of so large a Number, as were recommended by him, not one had been chosen; and he said, he conceived Merchants to be fittest, for the Management of such Undertakings, because

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of their Experience and Skill in Staple Commodities. In Confirmation of which, he instanced Sir *Thomas Smith's* Government, in whose time many Staple Commodities had been set up, which were now laid down, and only Tobacco raised or attempted. To which Lord *Cavendish* replied; that in this, as well as many other Particulars, relating to the Company and their Proceedings, his Majesty had been very grossly misinformed; that the following Tobacco only, and neglecting all other Staple Commodities, had been the Fruits of Sir *Thomas Smith's* and Alderman *Johnson's* Government; but that since, they had laboured, with all Industry, Care, and Diligence, to erect Iron-Works, plant Vineyards, make Silk, and raise other such valuable Commodities, of some whereof, they hoped, shortly to give his Majesty a Proof; and he said, that since Sir *Thomas Smith's* Time, the Colony had grown to almost as many thousands of People, as he left hundreds, besides a very great Increase of their Cattle. And his Lordship further assured his Majesty, that some of the Persons recommended, being in Court, did then, and most of them have otherwise since, publicly acknowledged and declared, that they would never have accepted those Places; professing themselves, thro' Want of Experience, and a Multitude of other Business, so very unfit and unequal to the Charge, that they should certainly have brought back the Business more, in one Year, than it had gone forward and prospered, in the last three.

Soon after this, the News of the Massacre in *Virginia* arrived. This Event, so unexpected, and so contrary to all their Hopes and Prospects, was received, by the Company, with inexpressible Grief; which was not a little aggravated, that so many had fallen, by the Hands of Men so contemptible, and after such plain Warnings, as *Opechancanough's* Attempt to poison the whole Colony, and especially the Death of *Nemattanow* had given. And they were therefore very loud in their Complaints against the Conduct of the Governor and Colony; never considering, how easy and natural it would be, to retort upon them (as the Governor and Council actually did) their own constant and pressing Instructions, to win the *Indians* over by Courtesy and Kindness, to give them familiar Entertainment in their Houses, and if it were possible, to draw them to live together and cohabit with the *English*. However, all good and sensible Men thought not the worse of the Enterprize, for these Disasters; but many publick-spirited Adventurers undertook several new Plantations, and divers Ships were dispatched away, with such Supplies and Assistance, as were thought sufficient. The King also was so far sensible of the

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Loss of so many of his Subjects, and of the miserable State of the Colony, that he made them a Gift of Arms out of the Tower; such indeed, as were unserviceable in *Europe* against equal Enemies, yet might, with a little Trimming and Repair, be made very useful against the *Indians*. And for immediate Dispatch, his Majesty lent twenty Barrels of Powder, upon the Security of the Company's Seal, afterwards to repay it. He likewise promised, to levy four hundred young Men, out of the several Shires, to be sent to *Virginia*, in Supply of those, that had perished in the Massacre; but he never could be brought, tho' often solicited by the Company, to make that Promise good. The Lord *St. John of Basing*, also gave sixty Coats of Mail, for the Defence of the Colony; and the City of *London*, with many private Persons, were much concerned at, and very forward to contribute towards the Repair of this Loss.

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CAPTAIN *Smith*, with Mr. *Stockham* and Mr. *Whitaker*, two Clergymen of Note in the Colony, had ever been of Opinion, that the Ways of Gentleness and Kindness would never be sufficient to bring the *Indians* over; and had therefore recommended, that *Mars* and *Minerva* should go Hand in Hand, as well in their Conversion, as in all other Transactions and Intercourse with them. But they were too sanguinary in their Notions of the Matter. For Mr. *Stockham* plainly declares, that, until the Throats of their Priests and Elders were cut, there could be no Hopes of their Conversion; and Captain *Smith* frequently mentions, and insinuates to Imitation, the detestable Example of the *Spaniards*, in their Conquest of the *West-Indies*. They were indeed something excusable, if, their Patience being worn out by a long Experience of the Perfidiousness, Baseness, and almost invincible Brutality of that People, they at last gave too much Way to the Dictates of Anger and Violence. Captain *Smith*, in particular, thought, that there had long since been given just Occasion, to prosecute them with War, and entirely to conquer and subdue them; and he now looked upon the Massacre, as rather an Advantage than Detriment, as it would open the Eyes of the *English*, and set them upon their Guard, and would give them just Grounds for a War, even to their utter Extirpation, and thereby contribute to the future Security and speedy Advancement of the Colony. And this indeed seems to have been the general Opinion of the Times. For the Company themselves, in a Letter this Year to the Governor and Council, declare, that they saw such a Disposition in Mens Minds, as made them think, that this Addition of Price had endeared the Purchase, and that the Blood of these People would be the Seed of the

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Plantation. And, for their own Parts, they thought it a Sin against their dead Brethren, who had lost their Lives in it, to abandon or give over the Enterprife, till they had fully settled and got Possession of the Country.

CAPTAIN *Smith* likewise, upon this Occasion, offered his Service to the Company. He proposed, that they should transport him, with an hundred Soldiers and thirty Sailors, and all proper Provisions and Ammunition; and should give him a Bark of an hundred Tons, with Means and Materials, to build six or seven Shallops, to transport his Men from Place to Place, as Occasion required; and then he undertook, to form a flying Camp, and to range about and torment the *Indians*, till he either obliged them to quit the Country, or brought them into such Fear and Subjection, that every Man should follow his Business in Peace and Security. And as to the Support and Subsistence of this Party, he thought, if his Majesty were truly informed of the Necessity and Benefit of the thing, he would give the Customs of *Virginia* for a time. For, without some such Method, it was much to be doubted, whether there would come, in a few Years, either Custom, or any thing else, from thence to *England*. And he doubted not, but that the Planters would, according to their several Abilities, contribute towards so useful and necessary a Design. But he insisted, that the Governors should not be permitted, by Virtue of their Authority, to take his Men away, or any thing else, to employ them, as they thought proper. And he farther promised, to make the best Use of his Experience, as well within the Limits of *Virginia*, as *New-England*, to bring them both into one Map, with all the Countries, that lay between them. As to the Reward of his own Pains and Danger, he asked not any thing, but what he could raise, from the proper Labour of the Savages themselves.

THIS Proposal was well approved by most, that heard it; but such were their Divisions and Confusion at that time, that he could obtain no other Answer, but that the Expence would be too great, and their Stock was exhausted; and they thought, the Planters should do something of that Nature themselves, if they could find sufficient Means to effect it. However, he was given to understand, as he tells us, that if he would undertake the thing upon his own private Account, he might have the Company's Leave; provided, they might have half the Pillage. But he rejected this Intimation with Scorn; thinking, that all the Pillage of those poor and naked Barbarians, except a little Corn, to be had at some times of the Year, would not, in twenty Years, amount to twenty Pounds. But I suspect, that all
this

this only passed in Conversation, or was at most privately talked at their Courts, without ever being brought regularly before the Company. For I have the Company's Records of that time, now in my Possession, in which there is not the least Mention of any such Proposition, altho' things of a trivial and much more minute Nature are most exactly entered. Neither does it seem consistent with the Character of the Company and its Leaders, who gave a fair Course and Debate to all Propositions offered, and were rather profuse in their Expences for the good of the Colony, than lying upon the Catch for little Advantages and mean Gains. However, the Captain's open Nature, and Simplicity of Honesty, might be blinded by crafty and designing Men, and easily made believe, that that came from the Company, which had really never come under their Cognisance, or been laid before them.

IN the mean time, the Colony in *Virginia*, being much frightened at this lamentable and unexpected Disaster, resolved to abandon all the petty Plantations, and to draw the People together, to make good five or six of the best and most defensible Places. Nay, so great was the Terror and Alarm, that many Persons were urgent, to abandon *James River*, and to retire to the *Eastern Shore*, where they might easily fortify and defend themselves against the Indians. And for quieting those, who were many, the Governor was obliged to hold some Councils, under Colour of considering their Proposal, but yet with a full Resolution, never to take so unadvised and destructive a Step. However, many Plantations were quitted by Authority; and all the People were drawn together to *Shirley Hundred*, *Flower-de-Hundred*, *James-Town*, with *Paspabey* and the Plantations right opposite, *Kicquotan*, and *Southampton Hundred*; to which were added, by the Obstinacy and Resolution of their Owners, Mr. *Samuel Jordan's* Plantation, now called *Jordan's Point*, and *Newport's-News*. For Want of Boats and other Conveniencies, it was impossible, on such a sudden, to secure and bring off all their Cattle and other Goods, which were, for the most part, after their Departure, burnt, ruined, and destroyed by the *Indians*. But Mr. *Gookin*, at *Newport's-News*, refused to obey the Order of Government, and draw off his People; and having got together thirty five of all Sorts, he secured his Plantation, and defended himself and Company against all their Assaults and IncurSIONS. The like was also done by Mr. *Samuel Jordan*; and by Mrs. *Proctor*, a proper, civil, and modest Gentlewoman, who, with an heroic Spirit, defended her Estate for a Month, till she, with all with her, were obliged, by the

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 stance to the Havock and Spoil of the Enemy. Mr. *Ed-*
Sir Francis *ward Hill* also, at *Elisabeth-City*, altho' much Mischief
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vernor. House, whilst all his Men were sick and unable to give him
 any Assistance.

CAPTAIN *Thomas Newce*, Deputy and Superintendant of the Company's Lands, foreseeing the Difficulties and Famine, that must necessarily ensue, caused as much Corn as possible, to be planted at *Elisabeth-City*, where he commanded; whilst others destroyed even that, which had been before planted, fearing, it might be of Service to the *Indians*, and trusted wholly to Relief by Trade or from *England*, which had ever been one of the principal Causes of their Miseries. For, Supplies from *England* were very precarious, and liable to many Accidents and Disappointments, and had been, formerly at least, very stingily afforded: And the Trade for Corn, with the Natives, was usually carried on by Men of Substance, to their own Gain and Advantage, and as it was complained, especially by the Company's Enemies, to the great Oppression of the poor and suffering Inhabitants. But Captain *Newce* called all his next adjoining Neighbours to his House, and omitted nothing, to relieve their Wants and Necessities. He likewise, with all Speed, entrenched himself; mounted three Pieces of Ordinance; sunk a Well of fresh Water; and soon put himself into a Posture of Defence, above the Fear of any Danger or Assault from the Enemy. In all these Works, he acted the Part of a Sawyer, a Carpenter, or a Labourer; till he brought upon himself many Sickneses, and at last a Dropsy, to the very great Grief of his Family, and of all under his Government. The latter End of *June*, Sir *George Yeardley*, in his Way to *Accomack*, staid three or four Days with Captain *Newce*, being accompanied by the Council, and many other gay Gentlemen. The Captain, being oppressed with so large a Company, complained, to one of the chief among them, of the Want of Provisions. Whereupon he gave the Word to the rest, and they entered the Fields of Corn near the Fort, which were the best guarded and preserved from the Ravage of the Enemy, and altho' the Ears were scarce half grown, they devoured and made a miserable Waste among it. But it must be observed, that this Particular relies wholly on the Authority of Captain *Smith*, who was himself absent, and whose Relations of these times were chiefly taken from Persons of the opponent Faction. They are therefore always to be somewhat suspected; and especially in this Story, as it
 clashes

clashes so much with Sir *George Yeardley's* general Character, and the universal Love and Esteem, which he obtained from the Colony. However Captain *Newce* was certainly a Man of great Goodness and Merit. As long as he had any thing, his Company shared it equally with him; and when all was spent, being obliged to live on Crabs and Oysters, they fell into a very weak and feeble Condition. Yet Captain *Newce* distributed among them, as he saw Occasion, a little Milk and Rice, which he still had left; and behaved himself, in all things, with such a fatherly Tenderness and Care, that he obtained the Reputation, of being the Commander, throughout the whole Country, that took the most continual Pains for the Publick, and did the least Good for himself, of all others. On the 9th of *September*, his Men were attacked at their Labours, by the *Indians*, which was the first Assault, they had made since the Massacre, and four were slain. The Captain, altho' extremely sick, sallied forth to engage them; but they, hiding themselves in the Corn and other lurking Places, escaped his Vengeance. Soon after, this worthy Gentleman died; and the Company, in Consideration of his, as well as her own Merit, granted his Widow a Moiety of the Labours of the Tenants, due to his Place, till another Person should be appointed to succeed him. And afterwards, in a Letter to the Governor and Council, they ordered her the whole Profits of their Labour for the following Year, with no small Commendation of her Virtue and Desert.

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CAPTAIN *Raleigh Chroshaw* was, all this while, at *Patowmack*, with one Man. He had not been long there, before *Opechancanough* sent two Baskets of Beads to *Japazaus*, the King, to kill them; assuring him of the Slaughter he had made, and that before the End of two Moons, there should not be an *Englishman* left in all their Countries. *Japazaus* disclosed this to Captain *Chroshaw*, who expressed great Scorn and Contempt for *Opechancanough*, whose Treachery and Cowardise he had seen sufficiently tried by Captain *Smith*, when he took him Prisoner, at the Head of seven hundred Men. After two Days Deliberation, *Japazaus* made Answer, that the *English* were his Friends, and *Opitchapan*, the *Indian* Emperor, his Brother; and that therefore, there should be no Blood shed between them, by his Means. He also returned the Present of Beads, advising the *Pamunkeys* to come no more into his Country, lest the *English*, though against his Will, should do them a Mischief. But the *English* Colony concluded *Chroshaw* undoubtedly dead, till Captain *Hamer* came to *Patowmack*,

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Newce communicating this to the Governor and others, Captain *Isaac Maddison* was sent, with thirty odd Men, in a Ship and small Bark. His Commission from the Governor, expressly charges and requires him, to assist and defend their Friends and Confederates, the *Patowmacks*, against the common Enemy; to protect them and their Corn, to his utmost Power; and in his Carriage, as well towards them as the Enemy, to discharge, faithfully and circumspectly, the great Trust, reposed in him, as he would answer the same, at his Peril. But just at that time, Captain *Chroshaw* had received a Letter from Mrs. *Boyce*, a Woman of Figure, who was Prisoner, with nineteen more, at *Pamunkey*. Having some Prospect of recovering their Liberty, he went to *James-Town*, with two Chiefs of the *Patowmacks*, to solicit the Governor, and to enter into Measures for their Release. But before this, *Opechancanough* had returned an insolent Answer to the Governor's Message, concerning restoring the *English* Captives, and had treated the King's Picture with great Dishonour and Contumely. The *English* also dissembled their Intents, and pretending Peace and Friendship, invited the *Indians* back, to plant their Corn at their usual Habitations; which being now grown up, so as to make the Loss irreparable by a new Crop, the Governor was preparing, with five hundred Men, to make a sharp and vigorous War upon them, especially upon *Opechancanough* and his bloody Adherents; and hoped, by destroying their Corn, and other Means, to drive them quite out of the Country. As to the lawful Emperor, *O-pitchapan*, who by this time indeed was only an Emperor in Name, he seems very greatly to have disapproved of the Massacre. For I find him, early the next Year, sending *Chanco*, *Pace's Christian* Convert, who discovered the *Indian*

dian Conspiracy, to assure Sir *Francis Wyat*, that if he would send ten or twelve Men, he would give up the rest of the *English* Prisoners, that were in his Possession; and would also deliver his Brother *Opechancanough*, the Author of the Massacre, into the Hands of the *English*, either alive or dead. Captain *Tucker* was accordingly sent upon this Service, but without the desired Success. However *Opitchapan* sent back Mrs. *Boyce*, naked and unapparaled, in Manner and Fashion, like one of their *Indian* Queens.

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FOR these Reasons, the Governor was unwilling, at that Juncture, to hear of any Treaty with *Opechancanough*; and Captain *Chroshaw's* Journey to *James-Town* was in vain; but his Absence from *Patowmack* had a very unhappy Consequence, on another Account. For, *Maddison* was a Man of a jealous and timorous Nature; and not liking to live among the *Savages*, as *Chroshaw* did, he built himself a strong House, within *Chroshaw's* Fort, and there soon rose great Coldness and Reserve between him and the *Patowmacks*. There was also then at *Patowmack* an exile King, who was inwardly exasperated at *Japazaus*, because he would not assist him in the Recovery of his Kingdom. This subtle and malicious Barbarian did therefore, in Revenge, forge a Plot, as if *Japazaus* and the *Patowmacks* were in Treaty with *Opechancanough*, how to cut off and destroy the *English* there. And to give his Lye the greater Credit and Air of Probability, he wrested and applied several Circumstances, that had lately happened, to this Design. *Maddison*, naturally fearful and suspicious, was alarmed at this, and made his Men stand punctually to their Arms. Some time after, under Pretence of Business, he sent for the King to his strong House; where having locked him, his Son, and four others up, and set a Guard of five *Englishmen* upon the House, he fell on the Town, with the rest of his Company, and slew thirty or forty, Men, Women, and Children. The poor King, being surpris'd at such an unexpected Assault, called out, and begged him to cease from so undeserved a Cruelty. But he gave not over the Execution, till he had slain, or put to Flight, all in the Town. Then he returned, and taxed the King of Treachery, who denied it bitterly, and told him, it was some Contrivance of those, who wished his Destruction, for being a Friend to the *English*. After that, *Maddison* led him, his Son, and two others to his Ship, promising to set them at Liberty, as soon as his Men were all safely shipped; and the King, very readily and effectually, ordered his Subjects, not to shoot at, or annoy the *English*, whilst they were going on board. But notwithstanding this,
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Maddison, contrary to all good Faith, carried them Prisoners to *James-Town*; where they lay, till the *October* following, when they were carried home by Captain *Hammer*, who took a Quantity of Corn for their Ransom. However, this perfidious Dealing did not pass off, entirely without Notice or Animadversion. For, Mr. *John Pountis*, as a Case properly belonging to his Office of Vice-Admiral, afterwards lodged a Complaint against some Persons, who going out to trade with the *Indians*, under Pretence of Friendship, and in the Governor's Name, had seized their Persons, and sometimes taken their Lives, and sometimes their Goods, for nothing, or at their own Rates, contrary to all Laws human and divine, and to the Dishonour of God's Name, of the King, and the whole *English* Nation. Altho' this was conceived in general Terms, so as to reach all other Persons, guilty of the same Crime, yet we are told, in the Act of Court itself, that it was chiefly levelled against *Maddison* and *Hammer*. And some Examinations against them were accordingly taken; but by Reason of *Hammer's* Sickness, and *Maddison's* Absence, who soon after returned to *England*, the Suit dropped, and never proceeded to full Trial.

THIS rash and unadvised Action of *Maddison* (not to call it by any worse Name) was of very ill Consequence to the Colony. For they were thereby cut off from all Hopes and Pretensions, to trade for Corn on that River; which was then their only Refuge and Dependance, as the *Indians*, in all the other Parts of the Country, were in an open and declared War with them, and as they themselves had not attempted any thing of a Crop, lest the Corn, when grown up, should give Means and Opportunity for Assaults and Ambuscades. Captain *Chroshaw's* Design was also quite defeated; who intended to make *Japazaus* a proper Instrument and Ally against *Opechancanough*. For he had at his Command above two hundred fighting Men, in the Town of *Patowmack*; and was, besides, a Person of great Interest and Authority, throughout the whole River, being a Kind of petty Emperor there, and unwilling to own Subjection to the other Emperors, whom he always affected to treat, rather as Brethren than Superiors. It was therefore probably thought, that *Chroshaw* would have succeeded in his Scheme, and might easily have made him rise against a Power, which he was before jealous of, and always looked upon, as usurped and oppressive.

HOWEVER Captain *Henry Spilman*, who had been preserved by the Means of *Pocahontas*, and had lived several Years at *Patowmack*, relying on his Interest and Acquaintance

tance with them, ventured to go thither, in a Bark, with twenty six Men, to trade for Corn. But himself, with twenty one more, were surpris'd and slain by the *Pascoticons*, the greatest People in those Parts. They immediately boarded the Vessel in their Canoes, and entered so fast, that the five Men, left to guard her, were in the utmost Amazement, till a Sailor gave fire to a Piece of Ordinance at Random; the bare Report whereof so frightened the poor Savages, that they leaped overboard, and forgetting their Canoes, swarm ashore. Soon after, they heard a great Noise among them, and saw a Man's Head thrown down the Bank; whereupon they weighed Anchor, and returned. And thus died this unfortunate Gentleman, who was of a good Family in *England*. He had, three Years before, been tried and found guilty, of depreciating and undermining the Governor's Authority, by telling *Opechancanough*, that a Great Man (meaning the Earl of *Warwick*) would soon come, and take his Place. For which Crime, they thought it a Mercy to spare his Life; but they however degraded him from his Captainship, and condemned him, to be a Servant to the Colony for seven Years, in Quality of Interpreter; for which Office he was peculiarly fitted, by having long lived, and been very conversant, among the *Indians*.

Edward Waters, one of the three, that staid in the Islands of *Bermudas*, and found the great Block of Ambergrease, dwelling in *Virginia*, at the time of the Massacre, was himself, together with his Wife, taken and kept Prisoners by the *Nandsamonds*. But this Fall, some *English*, near *Newport's-News*, were surpris'd in so great a Storm, that altho' the Men saved their Lives, the Boat was lost; which was cast, by the Winds and Waves, upon the Shore of *Nandsamond*. The *Indians*, finding it, were so busied, with Songs, and Dances, and Invocations, according to their Manner of Triumph, that *Waters* and his Wife found Means, to get secretly into one of their Canoes, and crossed the River, nine or ten Miles over, to *Kicquotan*; where they were received with no less Joy and Wonder by the *English*, than their Escape gave Anger and Vexation to the *Indians*.

SHORTLY after, Sir *George Yeardley* and Captain *Powel*, each with a Company of Gentlemen Volunteers, went to seek the Enemy. But all being fled, except three, which Captain *Powel* met by Chance and slew, they burnt their Houses, destroyed every thing, they could find, and so returned. Three hundred Soldiers, the best, they could chuse, were, not long after, raised and embarked in con-

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ing their Corn, and other Ways of distressing and destroying them, the Governor and Council, in the aforesaid Letter, assure the Company, that more *Indians* were slain that Autumn and Winter, than had ever fallen by the Hands of the *English*, put them all together, from the first Beginning and Settlement of the Colony.

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THE Earl of *Warwick*, not satisfied with the Spoils of *Virginia*, had also, by his Interest and Intrigues, procured his Follower and Dependent, Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, to be sent Governor of *Bermudas* for three Years; where he exercised the same bare-faced Oppression and Extortion, that Captain *Argall* had done here. But from the petty Offence of plundering the Colony, he proceeded to a higher Crime and Misdemeanor, and committed some Pillage upon a *Spanish* Wreck. This incensed *Gondomar*, and the Lords of the Privy Council sent a sharp Order to the Company, to make an immediate and strict Enquiry into the Matter. The Time of his Government being therefore now expired, a Commission was given to Mr. *Bernard*, who was going over to succeed him, to enquire into the Affair of the *Spanish* Wreck, as well as the Truth of many other Complaints and Allegations, sent over against him to *England*. But, as had been done in Captain *Argall*'s Case, a Bark was dispatched from *Barnstable*, in which he escaped, just before the Arrival of the new Governor, and came to *Virginia*. He left those Islands in a most miserable Plight, being reduced to Beggary and Ruin, by his Rapines and Extortions; and coming hither in the Extremity of Winter, he found the Colony labouring under the Distresses and unhappy Consequences of the Massacre. Sir *Francis Wyat* received and entertained him, with great Hospitality and Good-manners; but his Behaviour here was infamously lewd and riotous. Among other things, he demanded to be admitted of the Council, and grievously resented his being refused, altho' he could shew no Colour of Right or Title to it. After about three Month's Stay, and having gone up as high as *Chickahominy*, where, like a common Robber or free Booter, he fell upon, and made Spoil of Lady *Dale*'s Cattle, he set Sail, and returned for *England*.

BUT before this, in the Beginning of the Summer, there had been set afoot a most unhappy Affair for the Company; which gave it, as it were, a settling Blow, and not without some Face of Reason, was the Occasion of greater Clamours and Animosities than ever. It hath been frequently related, how the King took all Opportunities of grinding the Company and infant Colony, by laying op-

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 Sir Francis } did, partly out of his natural Abhorrence and Aversion to
 Wyat, Go- } that Weed, but chiefly out of a Desire of Gain. For,
 vernor. } with a Conjunction not unusual to be found in Men's Cha-
 racters, Profusion, and a voracious Appetite after Money,
 had met together in that Prince's Nature. In all these
 Exactions, Sir *Lionel Cranfield* had been his principal Instru-
 ment. He had been at first a Merchant of *London*, and
 then an Officer in the Customs, from whence he was in-
 troduced to Court, as a Projector; which, in the Lan-
 guage of those Times, signified a Person, who could fur-
 nish Expedients to the Ministers, to raise Money, in the
 Vacancy, and without the Assistance, of Parliament. He
 was a very wise and dextrous Officer; and in this Execrable
 Function, had been so useful and successful, that, together
 with the Advantage of having married one of *Buckingham's*
 Relations (an extraordinary Merit then, and an infallible
 Road to the highest Preferments) he had risen, before this
 time, to the Dignity of Earl of *Middlesex*, and Lord High
 Treasurer of *England*. He was himself an ancient Ad-
 venturer in the Affair of *Virginia*; and well knew, how
 uneasy they were, under the Pressure of the Monopolies,
 Garbling, and other illegal Patents. He therefore resolved
 to try, whether he could not make the Company consent
 to their own Oppression, and squeeze out of them a greater
 Profit and Revenue to his Majesty, by making a particular
 Contract with themselves.

To this End, he first broached the Matter privately to
 Sir *Edwin Sandys*; offering a Grant, to the two Companies
 of *Virginia* and the *Somer-Islands*, for the sole Importation
 of Tobacco into the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, re-
 serving to his Majesty a certain valuable Rent. This he
 did, with large Professions of his Love and Affection to the
 Colony of *Virginia*, whereof he was an ancient Counsellor;
 and declared, that, besides the personal Duty of his Place,
 as Lord High Treasurer, his principal Motive herein was
 the Profit and Advancement of the Colonies. Sir *Edwin*
 professed his Ignorance, in Affairs of that Nature; but
 after some Thought, he consulted with Sir *Arthur Ingram*,
 another Member of the *Virginia* Company, then present,
 but a fast Creature and Retainer to the Lord Treasurer.
 At length, considering, that Tobacco was a deceiveable
 Weed, and the Use of it wholly founded on a Humour,
 which, might soon vanish into Smoke, and come to no-
 thing, he told his Lordship, that to settle any great Rent
 in Money, upon such an uncertain Commodity, might
 soon bankrupt the Companies, and utterly ruin the Planta-
 tions.

tions. Wherefore, he conceived it much the safer Way for the Companies, to yield his Majesty a certain Proportion, in Specie, out of the Tobacco itself; whereof, he thought, they might be induced to give a fourth Part, provided they might be discharged from all other Burthens upon it. But his Lordship, falling into a Calculation, told him, that without the Grant of a Third, there could not be that Revenue, raised to his Majesty, as was expected; and for the old Custom, of six Pence a Pound upon Roll, and four Pence upon Leaf Tobacco, it was already granted to his Majesty's Farmers, and could not be reversed.

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AFTER this, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, by his Lordship's Command, communicated this Proposal to the Lords *Southampton* and *Cavendish*, and the two Deputies; who having imparted it to their Councils, brought it before the Companies. Such a Contract, if it could be concluded on any reasonable Terms, was certainly of very great and visible Advantage to the Companies and Colonies. For it would enable them, by having the whole Commodity in their own Hands, to exclude all foreign Tobacco, and to raise, or at least keep up, the Price of their own; and would as well ease them from the Extortions and Insults of other monopolising Patents, as secure them from any farther Impositions. For the Court, as the Colonies advanced in Strength, was still loading them with new Impositions, and kept them always staggering, and scarce able to go forward, under the Burthen of Taxes and Imposts. And this was then done, solely by the King's Authority, without granting Parliaments their undoubted Right, of giving Money, and laying new Duties on the Subject. And what was a notorious, and (if the sacred Character of Kings and Ministers would allow the Expression) an impudent Breach of Faith, it was done against the plainest and most express Words and Tenor of former Grants; which was, beyond Doubt, the present Case of the *Virginia* Company, as hath been before observed and recited.

HOWEVER, the Companies, sitting down peaceably under these Oppressions, readily embraced this Overture, and appointed each a Committee, to treat with the Lord Treasurer about it. But in the Progress of the Business, his Lordship was still squeezing in new Hardships upon them; and particularly surpris'd and shock'd them with a Proposal, that for each of the two Years, then next ensuing, the Companies should be oblig'd, to bring in sixty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco, or otherwise permit forty thousand Weight to be imported by some other. This Proposition seem'd very grievous to the Committees, and cross'd

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one of their chief Purposes. They therefore replied : That no such Obligation was laid on the former Patentees for the sole Importation of Tobacco : That the Example of obliging Men to bring in any foreign Commodity, whereof there was sufficient of the Growth of the King's own Dominions, would seem very strange and accountable ; and such a thing, as they thought, had not been heard of, in any Part of the World : That to prohibit the planting Tobacco in *England*, and yet to command the importing so large a Quantity from a foreign Country (especially when it was confessedly a great Drain of the Cash of the Nation) would be very grievous to the *English* Subject ; and was so odious a thing, that they were ashamed to be concerned in it : That the Quantity of sixty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco was very excessive, and more than had been imported, in divers Years, when there was no Restraint at all : That so large a Proportion (the whole Import of Tobacco into *England*, upon an Average for the last seven Years, being only an hundred forty two thousand and eighty five Pounds Weight a Year) must utterly abase the Price of the Plantation Tobacco, as manifestly appeared from that Year's Experience ; so that the Colonies would part with a third of their Tobacco to the King, without any Retribution in the Price of the rest, as was at first proposed : And that, in excluding all *Spanish* Tobacco, there could be no Room for Fraud or Error ; whereas, under the Colour of so large an Importation, it would be impossible to prevent the running and stealing in a much greater Quantity.

THESE Objections were certainly very sharp and home, and did not a little expose the partial and most unpatriot Measures of the Court. But it was the Misfortune of that Time, that the Company dealt much in Reason, and the Courtiers in Command. They were therefore peremptorily told, that this was a Point of such Importance, that it could not be dispensed with, without dissolving the whole Contract. For we must remember, that the *Spanish* Match was still on Foot ; and therefore his Majesty would sacrifice so large an Interest of his own Subjects to that Nation, to gratify and oblige his good Friend and Ally, the King of *Spain* ; who had been now, for many Years, bubbling and abusing him, to the open Scorn and Mockery of all *Europe*. Besides which, it is not to be supposed, that *Gondomar*, who, about this time, bore a very great Sway in the Affairs of *England*, would let slip such an Opportunity, of acquiring so great a Profit to his Country. And indeed we are told by Mr. *Oldys*, that the Obstruction of these Plantations, was a main Branch of the Aims and Endeavours of that *Spanish* Buffoon ;

Buffoon; and that he opposed all Voyages to the *West-Indies*, and particularly crossed these Undertakings of *Virginia* and *Bermudas*, lest from them there should afterwards arise another *England* in *America*, of equal Dread and Annoyance to *New Spain*, as that in *Europe* was to the Old. But the Company, having had some Gleams of Hope, and dreading nothing so much, as falling into their former Calamities and Oppressions, did at last, after much Dispute and Contestation, consent to this Article; and the whole Contract was concluded and agreed upon, chiefly on these Conditions. For I shall in this, as I have done in other Cases, take the Liberty, for Brevity's Sake, only to give the main Substance of Matters, and to leave out such Points, as are immaterial, and of little or no Consequence to be known.

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I. THAT the sole Importation of Tobacco, into the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, should be granted to the *Virginia* and *Somer-Islands* Companies, by Patent under the Great Seal of *England*; which Grant should be drawn and construed, in the most beneficial Manner for the Companies Behoof, and the Advancement of the Colonies; his Majesty's Profit, hereafter recited, only reserved.

II. THAT his Majesty should, by Proclamation, prohibit all others from importing, as also from planting Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*, during the said Contract, under grievous Penalties; and that what was already planted, should, by Virtue of the former Proclamation, be confiscated.

III. THAT his Majesty, and the Lord High Treasurer, should take all proper Methods, for preventing and confiscating all Tobacco, unduly imported; and should endeavour, in all Points, to keep up effectually to the true Intent and Meaning of this Contract; and particularly, that his Majesty should grant no Licences to Retailers of Tobacco, that the Market might still remain free and open, as it had hitherto done.

IV. THAT in Consideration hereof, as also for that the Companies should be discharged from all other Payments on Tobacco (excepting only the ancient Custom, in the Book of Rates, of six Pence a Pound on Roll Tobacco, and four Pence upon Leaf) the said Companies should pay to his Majesty the clear Proceed of a full third Part of all Tobacco, Yearly imported and landed by them in the said two Realms: Provided nevertheless, that they should not be obliged to import more Tobacco of the Growth of the two Colonies, than they themselves thought proper.

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V. THAT the Lord High Treafurer should caufe the Custom to be reduced to a Medium for seven Years laſt paſt, ending at *Michaelmas*, 1621 ; wherein ſhould be ſpecified, how much was Roll Tobacco, and how much Leaf, becauſe of the different Cuſtom ; and that the Whole ſhould be reduced to a certain Sum of Money, whereof one Third to be paid by the King, for his Part, and two Thirds by the Companies, and the Cuſtomers to make no farther Demand on any Tobacco, either imported or exported.

VI. THAT his Majeſty ſhould be diſcharged from Payment of Freight, and all other previous Charges ; but that immediately upon the Arrival of the ſaid Tobacco (at which time his Majeſty's Intereſt therein would commence) he ſhould bear the third Part of all Charges, for landing, houſing, keeping, and transporting by Land, Sea, or freſh Water, into divers Parts ; as alſo his third Part of all Lawſuits, of the Salaries of all Officers, Agents, Factors, and Servants ; and in general, of all Matters and Buſineſſes whatſoever, incident to the ſaid Tobacco, or Contract.

VII. THAT all the Tobacco imported, ſhould be conſigned into ſuch Hands, as ſhould be appointed by the ſaid Companies ; who ſhould, in their General Courts, have the ſole Nomination of all Officers, Agents, Factors, Miniſters, and Servants, and the entire Management of the ſaid Tobacco : Yielding to his Majeſty, a true and perfect Account thereof, and paying the clear Profits, which ſhould become due to his Majeſty for his Third, and come into their Hands : In which Account the third of all Charges ſhould be allowed and defalcated, as aforeſaid.

VIII. THAT the Companies ſhould be obliged to import, not above ſixty thouſand, nor under forty thouſand Weight of *Spaniſh* Tobacco, for each of the firſt two Years of this Contract, and no longer : Upon Condition nevertheless, that the King and State of *Spain* did not purpoſely (upon Knowledge of their being obliged to import ſo large a Quantity) raiſe the Cuſtom, or impoſe new Burthens and Charges upon their Tobacco ; and on Condition likewise, that the Price of Tobacco, at which it was then ſold in *Spain*, be not purpoſely enhanced, and that the Markets be, in all reſpects, as free and open, as formerly they have been : Provided alſo, if any of the ſaid Quantity of *Spaniſh* Tobacco do, in any wiſe, miſcarry by Casualties at Sea, that in that Caſe, the ſaid Companies ſhould not be bound, to reſtore and make good the Proportion ſo loſt, by any new Provision and Importation.

IX. THAT this Contract ſhould commence at *Michaelmas*, 1622, and continue for the Space of ſeven Years, then next enſuing.

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THIS Contract was certainly very well and cautiously worded, by Sir *Edwin Sandys*, who drew it, and was indeed their constant Draughtsman upon all such Occasions. But it was at last esteemed a very hard and pinching Bargain upon the Trade; and as a certain noble Person expressed it, was not to be looked upon as a pleasant Dish, well sauced and seasoned, but as a bitter Potion, which must, of necessity, be swallowed down, for avoiding greater Evils. The Earl of *Southampton* therefore, earnestly desired the Company, duly to consider each Article, and not to spare to give their best Counsel and Advice, in so weighty a Business, which so nearly concerned themselves and the Colonies, it being not only free, but demanded, as a Duty, from every Man, to speak his Mind boldly, as his own Reason should suggest. But after a long Pause, it appearing, that nothing more could be said, than had formerly been delivered, his Lordship, at the Company's Request, put it to the Question, and it was ratified and confirmed, by an almost unanimous Consent, one Hand only being held up against it. After which, it was, by the Lord *Cavendish*, their Governor, proposed to, and confirmed by the *Somer-Islands* Company, with the like Unanimity. For the Adventurers in that Plantation, being about an hundred and twenty six in Number, were all likewise Members of the *Virginia* Company.

BUT before the Bargain was thoroughly concluded and ratified by the Lord High Treasurer, he pressed in upon them an Obligation, to import the forty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco, in the best *Varinas*, with a Promise (which however he did not keep) not to trouble them any farther, if that was granted. The Company therefore yielded to it; on Condition, that such a Quantity of best *Varinas* could be procured. For there had been some Years, when the whole Importation of that Kind of Tobacco into *Spain* did not amount to forty thousand Weight. But if *Varinas* could not be had, they undertook (to give his Majesty and the Lord Treasurer Satisfaction) to import the rest of their Quantity, in the best and most costly Sorts of *Spanish* Tobacco. It will doubtless be very surprising to every thinking Reader, to find a King thus load and oppress his Subjects, with the Importation of a foreign Commodity, of no Use or Necessity, but of mere Luxury and Wantonness, and that too, in the dearest and most grievous Manner; especially when that Commodity might be supplied by our own Colonies, and must, in *Spain*, be paid for in hard Cash, as the Case then was. But to account for so unconscionable a Proceeding, it must still be observed, that herein were answered the two grand Ends, which at that time lay nearest

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to that Prince's Heart ; since by taking off their dearest Tobaccoes, he did the more oblige the *Spanish* King and Nation, and threw more Money into their Pockets, out of his Subjects Purses (which was, in Truth, so much clear Loss to the *English* Nation) and did also, at the same time, advance his own Profit and Revenue. For as the King was, by the Contract, to have the clear Proceed of one Third of all Tobacco imported, it was more to his Gain and Advantage, to have the best *Spanish* Tobaccoes, which would then sell for eighteen or twenty Shillings a Pound, and sometimes more, than the Plantation Tobacco, which would scarcely fetch two and six Pence a Pound.

THE Affair of the Contract, being thus settled and concluded, the next thing that fell under their Consideration, was appointing proper Officers, with their Salaries ; and the resolving on a steady Course, for the Management of the Business. For this Purpose, a Committee was appointed out of both the Companies, consisting of the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lords *Cavendish*, *Paget*, and *Houghton*, Sir *John Brooke*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, Sir *John Davers*, Messrs. *Nicholas* and *John Farrars*, the Deputies of the two Companies, Mr. *Samuel Wrote*, and others, Gentlemen and Merchants, to the Number of twenty one in all. After a whole Day's Consultation and Debate, they at last agreed upon all Matters ; and the Lords *Southampton* and *Cavendish*, Treasurer and Governor of the Companies, reported the Result of their Deliberations, to their respective Courts. But first, the Earl of *Southampton*, with much Candor and Earnestness, entreated the *Virginia* Company, to deliver their Opinions freely, either for, or against, what he should then propound ; which (he said) himself, the Council, and Committee, had consulted upon, not with Intent to conclude or determine any thing, nor to prejudice the Courts in their Judgment, but only the better to prepare the Business for their Consideration ; looking upon themselves, as his Lordship expressed it, only as Servants to the Court.

AFTER which Declaration, he proceeded and told them, that, as it was proposed, and in some Measure concluded, in the Preparative Court, they judged it necessary, that there should be one principal Officer, by the Name of Director, on whose Sufficiency, Care, and Integrity, the whole Success of the Business did chiefly depend ; and that they conceived the said Director would well deserve, for his Salary of that Year, five hundred Pounds. Next to him, was a Deputy : For without such an Assistant, it would be impossible for the Director, to undergo all the Burthen of Business, that would lie upon him. And to this Office they conceived requisite

requisite an extraordinary Deal of Pains and Industry, and no small Sufficiency. The Third Officer was a Treasurer, to keep the Cash. But altho' the Offices of Deputy and Treasurer were distinct in themselves, and would require two Persons, yet the better to husband the Expences for that Year, they thought it best (according to the Resolution of the Preparative Court) to join them both in one Person, for the present. And to this Officer, they allotted a Salary of four hundred Pounds, for the current Year. Next they conceived it necessary, to have a Committee of, at least, eight able and judicious Persons, chosen out of the two Companies, for selling and disposing of their Tobaccos, and for assisting the Director, with their Counsels, and Help, in the several Parts of his Office ; which would be very many and exceedingly weighty and important. And to these, they appointed a Salary of fifty Pounds, a Man. And besides these principal Officers, he told them, there would be necessary, two Cashiers, the one to be constantly resident in the Treasury, the other to receive and gather in the Monies ; a Book-keeper ; two Clerks ; a Sollicitor ; a Husband, to whom the Custody of the Warehouses should be committed ; and a Beadle ; with a House, for the Meetings of the Officers ; and Warehouses, for the Reception of the Tobacco. And the whole Amount of all these Salaries and Expences, was computed at two thousand Pounds a Year, which must be raised upon the Tobacco. But as the *Spanish* vastly exceeded the Plantation Tobacco in Price, it was agreed, that it should bear a double Proportion in the Rate of the Charges.

HIS Lordship farther told them, that they conceived it necessary, that there should be five hundred Pounds more set apart, for such contingent Expences, as should occasionally arise ; which Money, if it were not, by the Consent and Order of the Courts, expended for the Advantage and Improvement of the Price of Tobacco, was to be again repaid, to each Adventurer proportionably. And altho' this Sum, of twenty five hundred Pounds a Year, might to many seem very great and extraordinary ; yet, he said, considering, that five hundred Pounds was not to be expended, except for the evident Advantage of the Commodity ; and that, of the two thousand Pounds remaining, his Majesty was to bear one third Part, and the *Spanish* Tobacco a Proportion double to the rest, he conceived, it would be found no great Burthen upon the Plantations (whose Benefit was the grand Point in View) but such, as it was hoped, would be manifoldly repaid, by the Advancement of the Price. And as to the Officers Salaries, he declared it to be his Opinion, that they were far below the Pains, Care, and Charge, that they must, of necessity, be at.

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THE Earl of *Southampton* having thus finished his Report, there followed, for some time, a general Silence among the Adventurers. Whereupon his Lordship entreated them, freely to speak their Minds concerning all these things, and to declare, what and how they would have them done. And he repeated it again, that they esteemed themselves only as their Ministers or Servants, to prepare Business for the Court, in whom alone, was Power and Authority to determine and conclude Matters. He therefore earnestly entreated them, without Respect to himself, or any others, from whom those Propositions came, to declare their Opinions freely, especially concerning the Salaries, which, he perceived, was the grand Rock of Offence.

HEREUPON, Mr. *Robert Smith*, the Under-Chamberlain, said; that he thought, many able Gentlemen might be found, who, for Conscience Sake, would do the Business for far less Salaries. To which Sir *Edward Sackvil* replied; that for his Part, he thought Men bound in Conscience, to give those whom they employed, some reasonable Satisfaction for their Labour and Pains; and that he had found by Experience, that some Men, who had, for Conscience Sake, served the Company, had also, for Conscience Sake, undone it. But the Earl of *Southampton*, to soften the Quickness of Sir *Edward Sackvil*'s Reply, and to encourage a Freedom of Debate, declared, that Mr. *Robert Smith* was a very worthy and honest Man; and he thanked him, for speaking his Mind freely, desiring all others to do the same. After which, there ensued a short Debate; and it was often observed, in the Progress of the Affair, that this was properly a Point of Merchandise, and not of settling Colonies; and that it was not just or reasonable, to expect, that Men, fit to be trusted with, and capable to perform, so important a Business, should expend their whole Time and Labour, for the Advancement of other Mens Estates, without any Reward or Retribution at all. Mr. *Barker* also now said; that, having been, many Years, a Member of that Court, he had never heard of such great Salaries, as four and five hundred Pounds a Year; but that he had however heard of five hundred, and a thousand Pounds, deficient in the Accounts of some Officers, who did their Business for nothing. Soon after, the Earl of *Southampton* was called upon, to put the several Propositions to the Vote. But his Lordship said, he would once more read them over to them; which having done, and no Man making any Objection, after a good Pause, he put the several things, concerning the Officers and Salaries, above related, distinctly to the Question, and they were all approved and confirmed.

THEY

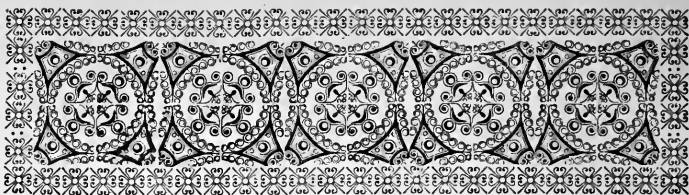
THEY then proceeded to the Election of their Officers.

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Sir *Edwin Sandys* had been nominated, in a former Court, to the Place of Director; but he earnestly refused it, as being unexperienced in Matter of Trade and Merchandise, in which that Officer ought to have an exact Knowledge; and as he could not constantly reside in Town, having a great Family in the Country. Besides which, he said, he began, as he now grew old, to wax weak; and therefore purposed, rather to withdraw from all Business of the World, than to engage himself farther in it. But the Court, especially the Earl of *Southampton* and the other Lords, being not satisfied with this Excuse, earnestly pressed him, not to refuse a Place, wherein he might do such singular Service to the Colonies; the whole Welfare of which did, almost entirely depend, upon the wise and upright Management of this Contract. No other Person therefore being so much as named against him, and himself rather not opposing, than consenting to accept the Place, he was, upon the Ballot, chosen Director, by having sixty five Balls for, and only five against him. Mr. *John Farrar* had also, at the same Court, been named to the joint Place of Deputy and Treasurer; but he likewise refused, alledging, that the Company had laid such a Burthen of Business upon him, for now almost four Years together, that he had been obliged to neglect his own private Affairs, which required his immediate and diligent Inspection. All which the Court acknowledged to be true; yet declared, they held him so fit a Man for that Place, that they would not propose any other to stand in Election with him; and so he was chosen, by having sixty eight Balls for, and only two against him. They then made Choice of their Committee, and inferior Officers; and also added a Committee extraordinary, to be chosen out of the Council, without Salaries. They were not obliged to a constant Attendance; but were only to give their Advice and Assistance to the Director and other acting Committee, in Cases of a high and extraordinary Nature. And this Committee consisted of the Lords *Paget* and *Maynard*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *John Brooke*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Mr. *Thomas Gibbs*, Mr. *Samuel Wrote*, Mr. *John Smith*, and Mr. *Robert Smith*.

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
V I R G I N I A.

B O O K V.

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HAVE, in the former Book, been the more full and exact, in relating the Affair of the Officers and Salaries, as it afterwards became the Subject of much Wrangling and Contention. There was one Mr. *Samuel Wrote*, a Gentleman of Fortune and Distinction in the Company, who had, ever till now, behaved himself with great Moderation, Judgment, and Industry, and had therefore been elected of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*. This Gentleman did suddenly, in a subsequent Court, held on the 4th of *December* this Year, break forth into much Violence, Indecency, and Opprobriousness of Language; and endeavoured, to call into question and cancel, in an inferior and ordinary Court, what had been settled and determined, by the Authority of a Great and General Quarter Court. He said, that this Affair, which was of especial Consequence to the Company, had been proposed and passed, without that due Preparation, which the Laws and Orders of the Company required in the like Cases; that the lawful and regular Course had not been taken for preparing Matters, but they had been hastily shuffled over; that the Business of the Salaries, in particular, was not duly committed, but
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carried foully, and disorderly, and with much Art, surreptitiously, and to private Ends; and that divers of the Company did, both then and since, as well publickly as privately, in his Hearing, complain much against those Proceedings, but that they durst not speak their Minds freely, because they were overawed. He called the Laws of the Company *Sir Edwin Sandys's* Laws, because that Gentleman had been very active and industrious, in contriving and framing many of them; and being reprimanded by Lord *Cavendish*, for an Insinuation so unjust and opprobrious to the Company, and for so unsuitable a Return to *Sir Edwin Sandys* for doing publick Service, his Lordship added, that he had done more Harm by that Day's Work, than Captain *Martin*, Captain *Argall*, or Captain *Bailie*; the last of which was Captain *Somers's* Solicitor, and had given their Courts much Trouble and Abuse. To this Mr. *Wrote* replied; that, in terming their Laws *Sir Edwin Sandys's* Laws, he called them no otherwise, than a great Lord did; and since his Lordship was so displeased with him, he declared, he would never more trouble that Court, where his Lordship presided, but would, at their next Meeting, deliver up his Share in the *Somer-Islands* Company.

HE farther objected, that the Committee, in which these things passed, was very disorderly, some Men talking privately by the Fire side; which he imputed to Mr. Deputy's Fault and Negligence, who ought to have moderated and kept Order in their Meetings. And he said, that neither the Council, nor the Committee, had any Authority to treat of the Matter of Salaries; and that there were things reported to the Court, as the Judgment of the Committee, concerning Points, referred to them by the Company, which nevertheless were not the Committee's Acts and Doing. And lastly, he charged and challenged the Deputy, with wrong entering the Proceedings of a Court, the 7th of *October* before. And to this Violence of Accusation, and Acerbity of Speech, he joined an equally rude and insolent Behaviour. All which was the more inexcusable in him, as he was himself one of the Committee, who prepared and brought this Matter before the Court, and had, when present, concurred with them in their Proceedings, but through Absence and Negligence in attending that Committee, had now spoke most of those bitter and reproachful things, merely upon Hearsay and Conjecture.

So many, and such various Accusations and Abuses, which affected divers of the greatest Lords and principal Members of the Company, did naturally produce a long
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and various Debate; in which Mr. *Wrote's* Arguments and Allegations were fully answered and disproved, by several of the Company; particularly by the Deputy, Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and Mr. *John Farrar*. Many also expressed much Grief and Concern, for this unhappy Altercation; as well out of their private Regard for Mr. *Wrote*, who had thus far been much beloved and esteemed, as out of Fear, lest it should give a Handle to the Malicious, and be the Occasion of much Reproach and Scandal to the Company. But Mr. *Wrote*, with great Violence and Obstinacy, still persisted to have several Propositions, which he made, relating to the Contract, put to the Vote; and being refused, he declared, that since he could not have things put to the Question, and for divers other just Causes of Offence, he appealed to the Quarter Court. Neither could he be silenced or repressed, till the Deputy, at the Court's Request, put it twice to the Vote, and it was, by a general Consent (Mr. *Wrote* himself, and one other only dissenting) a second time ordered and resolved; That since the Points, now moved, had passed the Judgment of a Great and General Quarter Court, they should no more be called into question or disputed, before the next Quarter Court, at which time, if any Person had any thing to oppose against them, they might come prepared, and do it.

THE whole Court, and particularly the Lord *Cavendish*, were much scandalised at this turbulent and offensive Behaviour of Mr. *Wrote*; which was suspected to proceed, not so much from any evil Mind in himself, as from the malicious Infusions of some others, in order to cause Variance and Distraction in the Company. For Alderman *Johnson*, and others of the Faction, were now present; who had of late been generally observed, never to appear at their Courts, but against some Storm and Confusion. Lord *Cavendish* therefore, without naming the Person, immediately wrote a full and particular Account of it to the Earl of *Southampton*, who was then in the Country. Whereupon the Earl, being willing to suppress, in the Beginning, an Affair of such dangerous Consequence, hastened up to Town, and called a Meeting of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*, on the 11th of the same Month of *December*. But Mr. *Wrote* protested against their Power and Jurisdiction, as he had appealed to the Quarter Court; to which, he declared, he would only submit himself. He then renewed his Accusation against the Deputy, for wrong entering a Court, the 7th of *October* last passed, and thereby bringing the Company three thousand Pounds in Debt. And he did, from his first coming into the Room, behave himself in a most violent

violent and contemptuous Manner, towards the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord *Cavendish*, and the whole Council. 1622.

MR. Deputy said, that the Accusation against himself was of a very high Nature, and deeply concerned the Company. For the Entries of their Courts being the Company's Records, to charge them with Falsity, was to call into question all the Records and Proceedings of the Company. He therefore declared the Manner of entering their Courts: First, the Secretary drew them up, and brought them to him, which Draught he, according to the Company's Order, perused and corrected; that then it was read in the next Court, distinctly, Article by Article, and after a sufficient Pause and Examination, either confirmed, or amended; after which, it was admitted to Record. And he said, that the very Court, now spoken of by Mr. *Wrote*, had accordingly gone through this Course; and that no Exceptions had been taken to it, not even by Mr. *Wrote*, who was then present, and ought to have objected, if there had been any thing wrong. For he would otherwise himself become privy and consenting to the Falsification, which he now laid to his Charge. But he averred, that there was nothing in it, to his Knowledge, wrong entered or amiss; but the whole was truly and faithfully set down, by the Secretary and himself, according to the Meaning of the Court, as they conceived; which he would, by the Persons, that were present at it, sufficiently prove. And as to bringing the Company three thousand Pounds in Debt, there was, and could be, no Manner of Colour or Pretence for any such thing. He therefore solemnly protested his Innocency; and as, if he should be found guilty of this grievous Charge, he would deserve the greatest of Punishments, so he humbly insisted, for his own Justification, that the Matter might be strictly looked into and examined.

THE Earl of *Southampton* also told Mr. *Wrote*, that he seemed to take himself to be so great a Man, that they were all, as Pigmies, in his Sight; but as he did not know him to be any Prince of the Blood, so he desired, he would carry himself with more Calmness and Decency. And as to his affrontive Behaviour to Lord *Cavendish*, the Earl said; that altho' they were all there equal, as Counsellors of the *Virginia* Company, yet there was a very great Difference between the Persons of divers of them; and particularly between him and the Lord *Cavendish*, to whom he owed a more respectful Language and Behaviour. And some time after, pressing him upon his Rashness and Indiscretion, and on his Failure in his Duty, as a *Virginia* Counsellor, Mr. *Wrote* went out abruptly and departed; saying,

1622. that he came not thither, to hear ill Words. Whereupon the Earl appealed to the Judgment of the Council, then present, what just Occasion of Offence had been given to Mr. *Wrote*, that he should go off in that rude and unrespectful Manner. They therefore ordered and agreed, that a Collection should be made of those Matters, which should be objected against Mr. *Wrote* at the next Quarter Court, to which he had appealed. And in the mean while, in Regard to the great Contempt, he had that Day shewed, they suspended him from the Council, till he should clear himself of the Matters laid to his Charge, and should come to a better Temper and Deportment.

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BEFORE the next Meeting of the Company, Sir *John Brooke*, accompanied with Mr. *John Farrar*, went to the Lord *Cavendish*, and told him; that he found Mr. *Wrote* sorry, for what he had done; and had the Earl of *Southampton* been in Town, he would have gone to his Lordship, and given him Satisfaction. He therefore desired Lord *Cavendish*, on Mr. *Wrote's* Behalf, that the Court, which was the next Day to sit, might be put off. For if the Proceedings of the former Court, of the 4th of *December*, should be openly read, Mr. *Wrote* would be put upon his Defence and Justification; which would tend to widen the Breach, and to render the thing irreconcilable, which there were now Hopes of having compromised and settled upon amicable Terms. And the Lord *Cavendish*, out of this Hope, and in Compliance with Sir *John Brooke's* Request, did accordingly cause the Court to be put off and deferred. But Mr. *Wrote* was so far from answering Sir *John Brooke's* Expectation, that at the next Meeting of the Company, which was not before the 29th of *January*, he made this very thing a Subject of Complaint; as if that long Intermision of Courts had been purposely contrived to his Prejudice. But being fully answered and silenced on this Head, by the joint Testimony of Lord *Cavendish* and Sir *John Brooke*, he insisted, that the Salary Men, as being interested Persons, and the Deputy, whom he most unjustly called his Accuser (for both he and his Brother were still fast Friends to Mr. *Wrote*, and endeavoured to palliate and make up the Affair) should not be present, when his Business was discussed. He also excepted, in the gross, against the Entry of that Court; saying, he spoke not those Words, neither in Manner nor Form, as they were there set down. Whereupon a long Debate ensued; Whether it was agreeable to the Custom of Courts, and would not be productive of great Inconveniency and Disorder, and raise much Question and infinite Trouble to the

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the Company by the Precedent and Example, if they should suffer that, which had been entered by sworn Officers, to be recommitted, and called afresh in question, whenever it should please any Man, to make Exceptions against it. But for Mr. *Wrote's* Satisfaction, and to take away all Pretence of Cavil and Complaint, an extraordinary Court was appointed, to examine by Parts, and to rectify the said Court of the 4th of *December*; to which they only, who were that Day present, were warned or admitted, as being the only proper Witnessees and competent Judges of the Matter.

At that Court, Mr. *Wrote* still behaved, in the same unaccountable and distempered Manner. He said, he suffered for the Service of his Majesty, and for doing his Duty. He repeated his Appeal to the Quarter Court; and thanked the Gentlemen, then present, for prejudging him to that Court. He also declared, if the Quarter Court righted him not, he would appeal to the King, the Fountain of Justice and Mercy; often repeating the same Words, with great Passion and Vehemence. Mr. *John Farrar* having said, that something was untrue, he ran to him, and whispered in his Ear, that he durst not have said *Untrue* to him in another Place. For which rude Swaggering, he was justly and sharply reprov'd, by the Earl of *Southampton*. He alledged, that Mr. *Withers*, an eminent Lawyer of the Company, had somewhere said, that the Earl of *Southampton*, as a Privy Counsellor, might commit him; and protested, that under that Fear, he durst not speak freely. He likewise, in a very rude and affrontive Manner, charged the Earl of *Southampton* with saying; that he blundered out his Indiscretion; and for giving him the Lye in the third Person, his Lordship having said; That whoever should say, that Men were in any thing overawed, and durst not speak their Minds, it was put into his Mouth by the Father of Lies; for a fouler Lye himself never told. The Earl owned, that he had spoke those Words; and he said, he would justify and maintain them; and if Mr. *Wrote* applied them to himself, he could not help it. But as to committing him, he desired him to be under no such Fear. For whatever Honours and Respects were due to him, he laid them all aside, when he came to that Place, and only appeared there, as their Treasurer. But he declared, that had Mr. *Wrote* behaved himself towards him so, in any other Place but that, he would not have endured it so patiently; and he therefore willed him, to be more mannerly and discreet. As to the Court of the 4th of *December*, which they then met to examine and rectify, it was found

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to be rightly entered, in the main Points and most material Passages; and it was accordingly, after a few slight Additions and Alterations, so voted and determined, by an almost unanimous Voice, one Person only dissenting. And to put the Matter still further out of Dispute, the Earl of *Southampton* summoned another Court, consisting of the same Persons, to meet three Days after, and to see, that the said Court was rightly entered, according to those Reformations and Amendments.

SOON after, Mr. *Wrote* presented a Project, for the better and more thrifty Management of the Contract; wherein he proposed, to have the whole Business performed for twelve hundred Pounds a Year, and thereby to save thirteen hundred Pounds annually to his Majesty and the Companies. And to give the thing the fairer Course and Hearing, the Earl of *Southampton* summoned another Court extraordinary, to meet and examine his Proposal. They went through the Whole, Article by Article; and after a full Deliberation and Debate, which lasted a whole Day, till late at Night, each Point was disapproved and rejected, generally unanimously, and never with above three or four dissentient from the rest of the Company.

THE 5th of *February* being the Quarter Court Day, to which Mr. *Wrote* had appealed, and his Affair having made a great Noise, and been the Subject of much Scandal and Defamation to the Company, there was a very numerous and splendid Meeting, consisting of six Lords, thirty Knights, Dr. *Donne*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, and a vast Concourse of others, Doctors, Esquires, Gentlemen, Merchants, and Citizens. And the Lord *Cavendish* also, to the same Time and Place, summoned a Court of the *Somer-Islands* Company, as they were equally concerned and engaged in the Business of the Contract. But Mr. *Wrote*, having appeared in Court, soon withdrew; declaring to Sir *Samuel Sandys* (who met, and asked him, whither he was going) that he was ill at Ease, and could not stay. However Mr. *Brooke*, and other Gentlemen, learned in the Law, delivered their Opinions clearly; that notwithstanding his Departure, and his pretended Appeal to his Majesty, as there was no Evidence, that he had really made such Appeal, or that his Majesty had accepted it, they were no way debarred from proceeding against him, in a due and legal Manner. Whereupon Sir *Edwin Sandys* observed, that Mr. *Wrote* was not accused, or prosecuted, to that Court, but was himself the Prosecutor and Accuser. If therefore his Accusation was well and justly grounded, why did he forsake it then, when that Day and that Court were come, to
which

which he himself had appealed; and when the Persons, by him accused, stood there, in the Face of the Court, ready to submit themselves to the Trial, by him called for and demanded? But, he said, Truth and Innocency are bold and settled, whereas Calumny and Falshood are fugitive, fearful. Wherefore, as it was apparent, that the King's Ears had been possessed, and all Parts of the Town and Country filled, with causeless Clamours, by Mr. *Wrote* and his Friends; and whereas his Wrongs to the Council, Committee, and whole Company, were so great, so groundless, and so pernicious, he concluded, that unless some Course was taken, to punish and repress him, he could not see, but that the whole Government of the Company, must utterly dissolve, and fall into the most extreme Confusion and Contempt.

HEREUPON, at Sir *John Davers's* Motion, it was first unanimously voted and agreed, that all Mr. *Wrote's* Exceptions, Charges, and Imputations, at the late Courts, were utterly false and slanderous. And then proceeding to his Sentence, after a long Debate, in which some proposed severe, and others more gentle Methods, it was at last concluded and resolved; that he should be displaced, and for ever excluded from being of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*; and that he should not be entirely disenfranchised from the Company, but should only be suspended and excluded from their Courts, for one whole Year absolutely, in which his Submission should not be accepted, altho' he should offer it. But if, at the Expiration of that Year, he should make his Submission to the next Quarter Court, that then it should be left to the Pleasure of that Court, whether they would re-admit him or not. But without a full Submission, and due Acknowledgment of his Fault, it was ordered, that he should never be received at all. And it was further resolved, upon Sir *John Davers's* Motion, that, if Mr. *Wrote* still persisted in his wilful Courses and unjust Aspersions, or should any way wrong or molest the Company, then, for his Conviction and Disgrace, and for the Company's Justification, his Sentence, together with an authentic Copy of his whole Proceedings, should be put into Print.

It was the Company's great Unhappiness, that whatever Contests or Dissensions happened among them, the thing was always carried to his Majesty in the worst Light; who was but too ready and willing, to receive Impressions to their Prejudice. And so it happened in this Case of Mr. *Wrote*. For Sir *Henry Mildmay*, professing himself, to be neither of the Faction, nor the Factionous, and that he came

1623. not to stir up Storms, but to allay them, informed the Company, that upon some late Discourse with the King, his Majesty took Notice of these Differences, which were a great Hindrance to the main Business, and to things of especial Consequence to the Colony; to which he also attributed the great Discouragement of divers Adventurers, and their Willingness to give up their Shares. And his Majesty farther signified his Will, that the Liberty of the Company, in every kind, should be preserved and kept entire; and particularly, that no Man should be abridged of the Liberty to speak his Mind freely, so he did it with due Respect and Decorum. But this, he said, he spoke, not as from the King, but as his private Advice and Admonition. And afterwards at this Quarter Court, when Mr. *Wrote's* Business came on, he informed the Company, that what he had before intimated to them, as from himself, he had now Warrant from his Majesty to tell them; who, by Way of Advice and Council, but no way to command them, wished, that they would leave verbal Differences, and go on with the Business of the Plantation.

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UPON Occasion of this Information of Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Edwin Sandys* observed, that of all Mr. *Wrote's* Calumnies and Accusations, none was more unjust, nor more apparently false and groundless, than that, wherein he charged the Earl of *Southampton* (though not by Name, yet by necessary Inference) of overawing the Company, and depriving them of the Liberty of Speech. And the Earl told Sir *Henry Mildmay*, if it was his Majesty's Pleasure, that they should not meddle with any evil Words, or seditious Behaviour, they would all obey and desist from the present Business. But Sir *Henry* declaring, that he had no such Command, but only Warrant, to speak by Way of Advice, what he had now delivered, the Court proceeded to the Censure of Mr. *Wrote*. And the Earl of *Southampton* farther said, that this thing seemed very strange and unaccountable to him, but he must attribute it wholly to Misinformation; and he wondered, that any Man should be found, so shameless and void of all Truth and Conscience, as thus to abuse the Ears, and misinform the Mind of a King. Whereupon he appealed to the Court, to bear Witness in that Point; and they all, with an universal Consent and unanimous Voice, declared, that it was a false and unjust Imputation; and that they were not overawed, but enjoyed such Freedom and Liberty of Speech, as was in no other Company permitted. And this Declaration they often afterwards repeated, with the same Unanimity; the opponent Faction themselves, altho' they insinuated and kept

kept up the Lye at a Distance, not being so abandoned to all Sense of Shame, as to say any such thing, in the Face of the Court, where there were so many Witnesses to disprove and confound them. Divers of the Company also farther said, that if Men should use half the Liberty of Speech in some Companies of the City, or demean themselves with so much Rudeness and Disorder, as several Members did in that Court, it would not be suffered or endured, but they would be either punished in the Purse, or sent to the Counters. And in Truth, the grand Fault of the Earl of *Southampton* and this Court was, not a tyrannical Government, or imperious Restraint of the Freedom of Speech and Debate, but rather, out of a Principle of Candor and Fairness, the giving too much Way to Impertinence and Licentiousness of Tongue; which had it been properly restrained, and duly punished, it would, in all Probability, have preserved the Being and Privileges of the Company, and prevented that Dissolution, which followed.

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FROM the very Beginning of this Commotion, Sir *Edwin Sandys* desired Mr. *Wrote*, not to be disturbed at his Office and Salary. For as he had accepted them with much Reluctancy, and in sole Obedience to the Company's Request, as they all knew and could testify, so he would resign both the one and the other, with a much better Will, than he had ever received them. And he accordingly often made and declared his Resignation, and very seriously protested, that he would never again accept the Place; and that, in Resentment of the late Courses taken to defame the Officers and Salaries, he would not, for any Reward whatsoever, any longer put up with, and endure such Affronts and Abuses. He therefore desired the Company, to make Choice of some other to the Place of Director, that the Business, for the Want of that Officer, might not stand still, or receive any Prejudice.

BUT as Mr. *Wrote* had thus moved a fresh the Affair of the Officers and Salaries, Sir *Henry Mildmay* confessed, that, altho' he was not directly of Mr. *Wrote's* Opinion, and the Salaries had formerly passed with his Vote, yet upon second Thoughts, he had since changed that Opinion, and now conceived, that such large Salaries was the ready Way to ruin and overthrow the whole Business; which, in his Judgment, might have been better husbanded. And he particularly insisted, that as the Salaries were to be raised upon the Tobacco, it would be a great Burthen and Oppression on the poor Planter; which had also been a popular and constant Theme of Declamation with Mr. *Wrote*. In this Opinion, Sir *Henry Mildmay* was seconded by Sir *Thomas*

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Wroth, Mr. *Edward Johnson*, and some others. This Point therefore of the Officers and Salaries was again called wholly into Question and reconsidered, at a Court, held for that Purpose, on the 12th of *February*. At that time, the Opposers of the Salaries desired, for various Reasons and Allegations, that the Consideration might be referred to a farther Day. But Mr. Deputy said, it seemed wonderful to him, that Men, who had raised such Storms and Clamours about the Salaries, not only to the Disparagement of the Company's Proceedings, but also much to the Hindrance of the Plantation, and to the Disgrace and Defamation of some very worthy Persons, for accepting those Places, should now, after all this Scandal raised, and Mischief done, be yet unprepared with plain and evident Reasons, to overthrow them. And he said, he marvelled the more at this, as he then saw, before his Eyes, some Persons, who declared, at the Council of the 11th of *December*, when the Consideration of the Salaries was referred to that present Day, that they would, against this Time, arm and fortify themselves, to cut the Throat of the Salaries. Wherefore he earnestly besought them, not to interpose any farther Delays, but now at length produce those Reasons, for which they had so much traduced and defamed both the Salaries and the Officers. For they had certainly had sufficient Time, to consider and ripen the Matter; and nothing would be Reason in any future Day, which was not then so. Hereupon there arose a very long Debate; till the Company, being little satisfied with the Reasons given, and much wearied with the many Diversions, made from the main Question, especially by Alderman *Johnson*, called upon the Earl of *Southampton* to put it to the Vote; and it was again voted and agreed, with an unanimous Voice (the Gentlemen in the Opposition either retiring, or else finding, how inconsiderable their Number was, giving no Vote at all) that the Officers and Salaries should stand, as they had been formerly ordered and appointed.

THIS was indeed a very great Concurrence and Unanimity of the Company, in the only Affair, for which the opponent Faction ever seemed to have had the least Colour or Shadow of Reason. But altho' the Sum of five and twenty hundred Pounds a Year, for the Management of this Business, may, at a slight View, be thought very great and extraordinary, yet if it be considered, that those Officers (as it was then calculated and agreed) would have an hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*, running through their Hands, it will not be found so exorbitant and excessive. For it only amounts to two and a half *per Cent.* whereof five hundred Pounds

Pounds a Year, or the half *per Cent.* was not to be expended, except it could be evidently applied for raising the Price of Tobacco. And the two great Salaries, arising to nine hundred Pounds a Year, against which their Exceptions chiefly lay, did not amount quite to one *per Cent.* whereas the whole Strefs and Burthen of the Business would lie upon those two Officers, and its Success entirely depend upon their Industry, Care, and Dexterity, in the Management of it.

AT this Court, the Lord *Cavendish* also moved, that since Sir *Edwin Sandys* would, by no means, hold the Place of Director any longer, they would propose some other Person for that Office. Whereupon some named Sir *Nathaniel Rich*; but he excused himself, as incapable of discharging such an Office, and would not therefore undertake it, for ten thousand Pounds a Year. But he declared, if he thought himself fit for the Business, he would willingly do it for nothing. Then Sir *Thomas Wroth*, and Mr. *Edward Johnson*, an eminent Lawyer, and, very worthy Member of the Society, were proposed; but they both refused, as no way skilled in such Business, or able to execute the Place. Afterwards it was put to the Question; Whether the Company would accept of Sir *Edwin Sandys's* Resignation, and it was, by a general Erection of Hands, denied. He was therefore very pressingly entreated, not to leave the Place, upon any Discouragement whatsoever; the Company professing, that, without his Assistance, they much doubted of the good Management and Success of so difficult a Business. Even some of the most violent in the Opposition did, at other times, express great Satisfaction in the Choice of Sir *Edwin Sandys*; and declared, that he, or no Body, was able to go through with so thorny and troublesome an Employment: Whilst others seemed disinclined and backward, to be any way engaged in it, except it was under his Management and Direction. And thus the Office of Director was, a second Time forced upon Sir *Edwin Sandys*, with a very general and honourable Testimony of the Company; and he accordingly, with the Committee, entered into Consultation, about a proper Course and Regulation of the Business; which, being brought before the Company, was generally approved and confirmed.

BUT the Gentlemen in the Opposition, finding all Attempts with the Company vain, took another and more effectual Way to destroy the Contract. For, twelve Days after the Thing had been thus examined a fresh, and again settled and determined, the Earl of *Southampton* and Lord *Cavendish*, the Treasurer and Governor of the two Companies, with the two *Farrars*, the Deputies, Sir *John Da-*

1623. *vers*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and some others, were called before the Lord Treasurer; where appeared, on the other Part, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Alderman *Johnson*, Mr. *Wrote*, Mr. *Bing*, and others of that Faction, who were seconded and assisted by Sir *John Wolstenholme* and the Customers. There passed much Dispute and Contradiction between the two Parties, which the Lord Treasurer heard with great Patience, and without the least Interruption to either Side. And it was here confidently averred, especially by Mr. *Wrote* and Mr. *Bing*, that the Companies, in carrying the Contract, had been overawed by the Earl of *Sou-thampton*; and threatened, unless the Contract proceeded, the Colonies would be taken from them. At length, one of the Customers proposed to the Lord Treasurer, that since the Contract had been the Subject of so much Contention and Discord, it might be immediately dissolved; and that the Companies should be obliged, to bring all their Tobacco into *England*, and pay the old twelve Pence a Pound, Custom and Impost; which, he said, would be more satisfactory to the Planters, and more beneficial to the King. And he then proceeded to calculate and shew, that a Revenue, of twenty thousand Pounds a Year upon Tobacco, would be thence raised for his Majesty; which was the utmost, that had been aimed at or expected. The Lord Treasurer also reminded the Companies of the great Grace and Favour, his Majesty had shewed them, by granting them Lotteries, and other Means, for the Advancement of the Colonies. And this, by the bye, was always insisted on, as a vast and infinite Obligation, which the Companies could never return; and it was therefore for ever urged as an Argument, for their granting his Majesty, whatever he demanded. And his Lordship concluded, that it was a very unfit and ungrateful thing, whether there was a Contract, or no Contract, not to bring all their Tobacco into *England*, to pay Duty, that his Majesty's Revenue might be thereby advanced.

THESE Expressions of the Lord Treasurer were received with great Applause and Approbation, by the *Warwickian* Faction; who declared, that it had ever been their Desire, that all the Tobacco should be brought into *England*. And Mr. *Wrote* farther said, that the Colony in *Virginia* had sent a Petition, to be exhibited to his Majesty, to that Purpose; which was however never presented to the King, but had been concealed and suppressed by the Deputy. By this he meant the Petition, already recited (p. 200) which was sent, when no Tobacco from *Virginia* was imported into *England*; but coming after the Prohibition was taken off, it was therefore

fore never presented. The Earl of *Southampton* therefore replied, that the Colony meant nothing less by that Petition, than what he now pretended. For the Scope of it was, to obtain Liberty to bring Tobacco into *England*, at a time, when they were utterly debarred from importing any. At last they were dismissed; and the Lord High Treasurer told them, they might still proceed with the Business of the Contract, notwithstanding these Diffensions and Oppositions.

BUT soon after, they were again summoned, to meet before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 4th of *March*; Sir *Edwin Sandys* (the Earl of *Southampton* being then out of Town) and the two *Farrars*, with such, as they should bring with them, for the *Virginia* Company, and for the other Side, Sir *Thomas Smith* and Alderman *Johnson*, with such Advocates and Assistants, as they should chuse; for the *Somer-Islands* Company, the Lord *Cavendish*, and such, as he would bring with him, and of the opposite Party, the Earl of *Warwick*, or Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, with such others, as they thought proper. On that Day, they appeared accordingly, being attended by the Lord *St. John*, Lord *Paget*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *John Brooke*, Sir *John Davers*, Sir *Robert Killigrew*, and divers other eminent Members of the Company; and they were told by the Lord High Treasurer, that this Meeting had been appointed to examine sundry Complaints, that had been exhibited against the Contract, by some particular Members of their Companies. Whereupon the Lord *Cavendish* made Protestation, that, as the Contract had often been, most fairly and regularly, voted and concluded, in several Quarter Courts, neither himself, nor the rest of the Company, which then attended, came to give any Satisfaction to those Members, which now opposed it. For they were not only, as the lesser Part, involved in the general Agreement of the Majority, but had, most of them, actually given their Votes and Consent to the Contract; and it would be to the Prejudice and Destruction of all good Government, to be perpetually tampering and treating with them about it. But he said, if their Lordships, upon any sinister Surmises or Informations, had conceived any Doubts about the Matter, himself, and the rest, were both ready and willing, to give their Lordships an Account of their whole Proceedings, and such an Account, as they trusted and were assured, would, in every Particular, give all reasonable Satisfaction.

HEREUPON, the Lords of the Council requiring some of the Complainants to make known their Grievances, Mr. *Bing* stepped forth, and made a long and very bitter Invec-
tive against the Contract, and the Manner of passing it. In
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1623. this, he used great Sharpness and Freedom of Speech against the Earl of *Southampton*; and endeavoured, by ridiculous and mimick Gestures, to mock, and turn him into Contempt. But Mr. *Bing* was not now in the *Virginia* Court; where he and his Party had long indulged themselves, in a most immoderate Licentiousness of Speech, and Indecency of Behaviour. And therefore, altho' the Earl of *Southampton* was no ways gracious at Court, nor consequently to the Lords of the Privy Council, his Majesty's immediate Creatures, yet they sharply checked and rebuked him. But the Lord *Cavendish* appealed to their Lordships for Justice against him, for having so wronged and abused the Earl of *Southampton*, a Peer of the Realm, and a Member of that Board, as well now in their Lordships Presence, as at other Times and Places, as he was ready, abundantly to prove. Wherefore Mr. *Bing* was afterwards committed to the Marshalsea, by an Order of the Privy Council; from whence he was not to be released, until he had made due Submission to the Earl of *Southampton*, and given him all fitting Satisfaction.

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BUT as to the main Subject of Complaint in Mr. *Bing's* Speech, the Lord Treasurer proposed to the Companies Three Points, to be considered: First, whether the Companies had been overawed? Secondly, whether the Contract was for the Good of the Colonies? And Lastly, if it was not for the Good of the Colonies, how it might be made so? The debating and clearing up these Points took the whole Day, both Forenoon and Afternoon. At length, after a long Hearing and Deliberation, the Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, Deputy of the *Virginia* Company, were called in, and told by the Lord President of the Council; that they had given a good Account, both of the Reasons, which induced them to conclude the Contract, and of their fair and upright Proceeding in passing it. And he promised, that a Report should be made to his Majesty, by that Board, accordingly; and he doubted not, but that the Contract would be confirmed to them, or else some other Bargain granted, as much to their Content and Advantage. The Lord Treasurer likewise gave them a most honourable Testimony, of their upright Proceedings, and wise Administration of the Affairs of the Colonies, for the four last Years; in which, he said, they had thriven wonderfully, and prospered beyond Belief. And his Lordship further added, that in the former Years, when Alderman *Johnson* was Deputy, and the Business was in other Hands, it was carried foully and disorderly; so that, if the Persons, then in the Government of the Companies, should be called

to an Account for their Proceedings, he questioned, whether their Estates would answer it.

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AND thus did this Affair go off, in all Appearance, greatly to the Honour of the Companies, and to the utter Disgrace and Confusion of the opposite Faction. But whilst the Companies were engaged in debating the Matter before the Council, the Earl of *Warwick* and Mr. *Wrote* were with the King; and what Effect their Calumnies and Insinuations might have on the Mind of that weak Prince, may be easily judged by the Event. For the *Virginia* Company, being encouraged by the Third Point, proposed by the Lord Treasurer, to be considered, *viz.* If the Contract was not for the Good of the Colonies, how it might be made so? reconsidered the Whole, in each Article and Particular, and proposed such Alleviations in the hardest Parts, as they conceived reasonable, or thought there were any Hopes of obtaining. And to this End, the Gentlemen in the Opposition were expressly invited and desired, to join with them; that, laying aside all Study of Party and Contradiction, they might unanimously, and with the Calmness of Reason, examine and find out, what was most necessary and beneficial for the Colonies. But the Principal of those Gentlemen not vouchsafing their Presence, they proceeded, and drew up a long and particular Representation of the whole Matter to the Lords of the Privy Council; that they might assist their Suit, and be Intercessors to his Majesty for them. But whilst these things were in Agitation, the whole Contract was suddenly declared by his Majesty, to be void and of none Effect. But I cannot discover the exact Day, when this was done; nor what were the Reasons or Pretences for it.

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AND this was the End of the Company's Contract with his Majesty, for the sole Importation of Tobacco; an Affair, which raised vast Heats and Animosities, and gave a Handle, especially on Account of the two great Salaries, to much Clamour and Reproach. And by this Means, the *Warwickian* Faction were strengthened by the Accession of Mr. *Wrote*, Mr. *Gibbs*, Mr. *Bing*, and other Persons of Consideration and Figure; and it was now increased to twenty six in the whole, whereas it had before been even less numerous and potent. As to the Contract itself, it was acknowledged, by those, who were most vigorous in upholding it, not to be absolutely and in itself advantageous, but only comparatively good, with Respect to their former State of Slavery and Oppression under the Customers and Farmers of his Majesty's Revenues, and as it would shield them from their farther illegal and arbitrary Impositions. And the Breach of it was, at this time, the more apprehended, as it
was

1623. was likely, that a sole Importation would be granted to some other Persons, who made Offer of so exceeding and large a Revenue to his Majesty, as could not possibly be raised, but with the extreme Oppression of the Colonies, and greatly to the Prejudice, if not to the utter Destruction, of their growing Trade and Staple of Tobacco.

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BUT the Faction, that opposed the Companies, did not only, by the Dissolution of the Contract, endanger the Trade, and render it again subject to the Rapaciousness and Extortions of the Farmers and Customers, but their Contentiousness and Malice had another unhappy Consequence. It hath been already related, that, in *October* 1621, the Lords of the Privy Council commanded all the Tobacco and other Commodities, to be brought from *Virginia* into *England*; but upon Reasons given, and a Representation made by the Company, the Matter rested, and had been no farther insisted on. But now, chiefly at the Instigation, and by the Offers and Motions of the opponent Faction, their Lordships renewed that Order, in very strong and peremptory Terms. For, on the 4th of *March*, when the Companies were before the Council, the Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, of the *Virginia* Company, were very sharply reprimanded and threatened, because some Ships had lately gone from the Colonies to *Holland*; and they were ordered, to signify and declare to their Companies, that it was the Pleasure and express Command of that Board, that all the Tobacco and other Commodities of the Plantations, should be brought directly to *England*.

WHEN this Affair came before the Company, Sir *Edwin Sandys* said, that he should always be the Son of Obedience, and yield a ready Submission to the Commands of the higher Powers; as he well knew, it was the Intent and Inclination of the Company to do. Yet, in Cases of evident Impossibility or publick Detriment, he thought it the Part of well-ordered Duty, to make a just and true Representation of the Matter, and modestly propose their Reasons against it. He therefore observed, that the Commodities of *Virginia* had three several Sorts of Owners: First, the Company; secondly, particular Hundreds and Plantations, belonging to private Adventurers in *England*, as *Southampton* Hundred, *Martin's* Hundred, and the like; and thirdly, Planters inhabiting and residing in *Virginia*, whose Part he conceived to be far the largest and most considerable. As to the first, the Company's Commodities, they certainly had them in their own Power, and could always import them into *England*. But over the two latter Sorts, he conceived the

the Company to have no Power, by Law, to command or controule them. For the Inhabitants of *Virginia* were, by his Majesty's original Charters and Grants, declared to be as free, as the rest of his Majesty's Subjects, which inhabited the Realm of *England*, or any other of his Dominions. And besides, the particular Societies, and divers of the private Brothers in *England*, and of the Inhabitants in *Virginia*, had Ships of their own; and it was not in the Power of the Company, to prevent or restrain them, from carrying their Goods to the best and most promising Markets.

HE farther observed, that *Virginia* had, or would probably soon have, many Commodities, as Salt, Fish, Pipe-staves, Caviary, and the like, which in other Countries might be vendible at an indifferent Price, but not in *England*. Considering therefore, that within a few Years, when the Term granted in their Letters-patent was expired, the King was to have Custom of all Merchandise in *Virginia* itself, if these Goods should pay a second Custom in *England*, and afterwards a third Custom in foreign Parts, where they were vended, there could be no Doubt, but that these three Customs, together with the Freight of such cheap and bulky Kinds of Merchandise, and the other contingent Charges, would so feed upon the Commodity, as to leave little or nothing, for the Sustenance and Profit of the Adventurer and Planter.

HOWEVER, he said, as the *Virginians* had been driven, by the Rigor of former Contractors with the Crown, to seek foreign Markets for their Commodities, so he doubted not, but by gentle Usage and good Treatment, they would be easily induced to return back to *England*, their best and most natural Market. But as for what had been alledged by a very honourable Person, that the *Spanish* Colonies brought all their Merchandises into *Spain*, and to no other Place, he said, there was a very evident and important Difference between the Case of the *Spanish* Colonies and the *English*. For the State of *Spain* suffered no other Commodities of the same Kind, to be brought into that Kingdom, which was an exceeding great Encouragement and Benefit to their *American* Plantations; whereas in *England*, the Commodity, which could be easily and abundantly supplied from our own Colonies, was not only permitted, but even strictly enjoined, and sternly commanded, to be imported from a foreign Country. But if his Majesty would afford them the same Privilege and Favour, that the King of *Spain* did to his Colonies, and would prohibit the Importation of all Commodities from foreign Parts, that could be furnished by our own Plantations, there would doubtless be all ready and joyful

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joyful Obedience yielded to this Command, of bringing all their Commodities into *England*. But without such a Qualification and Privilege, he declared it to be his Opinion, that this was a Proposition extremely oppressive and hurtful to the Colonies, and must soon bring them to utter Ruin and Destruction.

THIS clear and pathetic Account of the Case was received with the general Applause and Approbation of the Company; and Mr. *Rider* added, that there seemed to him to be another material Difference, between the *Spanish* and *English* Plantations. For the *Spanish* Colonies were founded by the Kings of *Spain*, out of their own Treasury and Revenues, and they maintained the Garrisons there, together with a large Navy, for their Use and Defence; whereas the *English* Plantations had been at first settled, and since supported, at the Charge of private Adventurers; unless it might be excepted, that his Majesty, out of his great Grace and Favour, had granted them some Lotteries and Collections, the Produce of which had nevertheless been expended, merely for the publick Service. To which it might have been justly added, that those vast Obligations of Lotteries and Collections were very cheap to his Majesty, he never having contributed one Farthing himself in them, altho' he was a very great, and in a manner the only Gainer yet, by these Settlements. At length, in order to lose no Time, Sir *Edwin Sandys* and Mr. *Christopher Brooke* were desired, to take both the Reasons, which had been formerly presented to their Lordships by the Company, together with such new ones, as had been now alledged, and to draw up a brief Answer to this Order of the Privy Council. And whereas the Matter was already so well prepared and digested to their Hands, it was thought, they might easily do it, during the sitting of the Court. Whereupon they withdrew, and soon returned with an Answer, containing much the same in Purport with that, presented to their Lordships, about a Year and a Half before, by Mr. *John Farrar*, then Deputy-Treasurer of the *Virginia* Company. This Draught, being deliberately read in the Court, was ratified and approved by the Company; and Lord *Cavendish*, Lord *Paget*, and Sir *Edward Sackvil* were entreated, to deliver it to the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Company's Name.

BUT this Stiffness and Resolution of the Company did, by no means, turn their Lordships from their Purpose. For I find, by another Order of the Privy Council, dated the 28th of *April* this Year, that they still strenuously insisted on, and strictly enjoined them, to import all their
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Commodities into *England*. But as some Alleviation and Encouragement, the King, in the same Order of Council, declares; that, instead of the twelve Pence, formerly answered to his Majesty, he would, for the future, be content with nine Pence a Pound on Tobacco (the Customers having abated three Pence a Pound Custom) and that all Tobacco, then lately imported into *England*, should be delivered to the Proprietors, on paying that nine Pence only. And for the Information of the People in *Virginia*, that they might know, how to comport themselves herein, this Order was transmitted hither, and is still extant among the Records of our Council. At the same time, the Lords of the Privy Council wrote a Letter to the Governor and Council here; informing them; of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, towards the Colony; and commanding them, not to be discouraged by any loose Advertisements, proceeding from Faction, Malice, or private Ends. But they straightly charged and required them, in his Majesty's Name, to live together, in that Concord, Unity, and joint Care of the common Good of the Plantation, as became the Undertakers of such an Action, the Subjects of such a King, and the Professors of such a Religion. They told them also, that they were informed by some, who had lately been Eye-witnesses, that their Fortifications, Houses of Habitation, and Provision of Victual, were not cared for in such sort, as they ought to be; which was highly displeasing to his Majesty. And therefore they required them, to be more careful hereafter, as well for themselves, as for the publick Weal and Subsistence of the Colony.

BUT the Contract being dissolved, and the Benefit of sole Importation taken from the Company, the *Warwickian* Faction themselves were soon alarmed, at the Apprehension of a general and unlimited Importation of Tobacco. Wherefore Sir *Nathaniel Rich* proposed to the Company, their entering into a new Treaty with his Majesty, for the sole Importation, and for farming the forty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco; which he gave them to understand, from some Speech, he had lately had with the Lord Treasurer, there were great Hopes of obtaining. But his Proposition was slighted and rejected, as a Scheme, which had lately been rendered abortive, by himself and his Faction; and as it would be necessarily productive of those Salaries and Expences, which they had so loudly exclaimed against. But soon after, the same Gentleman informed the Company, that there was like to be a free Importation of all Sorts of foreign Tobacco, without Stint or Limitation; and that there was a Proclamation shortly to come forth,

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1623. to that Purpose. This was a thing before not suspected or imagined; and it was unanimously judged, to be utterly destructive of the Colonies. For as the meanest Tobaccos might be bought in *Spain*, for six Pence a Pound, the Price of the Plantation Tobacco, after the Discharge of Freight, Custom, Impost, and other Charges, would be reduced to little or nothing. The Company therefore unanimously entered upon several Schemes and Measures, to prevent so unfortunate an Event; all which at last ended, in a bare Promise from the Lord Treasurer (and the Court Promises of that Time were not greatly to be depended upon) that forty thousand Weight of *Spanish* Tobacco only, should be imported into *England*.

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SIR *Thomas Smith's* Accounts remained still unsettled, and Sir *Edward Sackvil* was among the freest in his Censures and Complaints of this Matter. About this time, Sir *Thomas Smith*, casually meeting him, complained and expressed much Concern, that he should publickly, and in divers Places, say, that Sir *Thomas* was indebted to the Company. Sir *Edward Sackvil* was a young Nobleman of a frank and generous Nature. He spoke freely, whatever he thought, and was not at all of a Turn to deny, what he had once said. He therefore confessed it to be true, and gave his Reasons for it. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Smith* solemnly protested his Clearness and Integrity, and as a Proof of it, asked Sir *Edward Sackvil*; If he was so much in the Company's Debt, why they did not, especially in this their Time of Want and Necessity, sue and recover it? For he was undoubted solvent, and able to make them full Satisfaction. But, he said, it was so far from this, that he had been now, for the Space of three Years, in vain importuning and soliciting an Audit of his Accounts, and had, for that End, delivered in all his Books to the Company. This was also confirmed by Sir *Humphrey Handford*, then Sheriff of *London*, and one Mr. *Abdy*, a rich Merchant; who told Sir *Edward Sackvil* further, that they had formerly, by the Company's Appointment, examined Sir *Thomas Smith's* Accounts, and found the Ballance five hundred and odd Pounds in his Favour, which they had accordingly witnessed under their Hands, and delivered in to the Court. As to this Assertion of these two Gentlemen, I find, at a Court held May 12, 1619, on the Motion of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Mr. *Maurice Abbot*, Mr. *Humphrey Handford*, and Mr. *Anthony Abdy* were admitted to be present at the auditing the Account, to see, that Sir *Thomas Smith* received no Wrong. But it was also ordered, that three of the old Auditors, viz. Sir *Edwin Sandys*, then Treas-

Treasurer, Sir *John Davers*, and Mr. *John Wroth* should be of the *Quorum*, and that nothing should be concluded, without the Consent of two of them at the least. And soon after, at a Quarter Court, Mr. *Abbot* and those two Gentlemen, together with Mr. *Thomas Keightly* for the Company, were admitted extraordinarily into the Number of legal Auditors. But that the Accounts had ever been fully audited and passed by them, is plainly false, by the whole Course and Tenor of the Company's Records. And if these Gentlemen, who were only Auditors *ex parte*, on Sir *Thomas Smith's* Behalf, did give in any Paper to the Court, relating to the full Settlement and Ballance of those Accounts, it could never surely, either in Law or Reason, be received as authentic and definitive. But Sir *Edward Sackvil* being unacquainted with the Proceedings of those Times, Sir *Thomas Smith* besought him, that his Accounts might be passed; and that he might be no farther molested upon that Head, but permitted to go in Peace to his Grave, being already far stricken in Years, and sufficiently afflicted with the many Infirmities, incident to old Age. But he declared, that none of those Pains and Afflictions were comparable to the Grief and Anguish of Mind, which he received from these injurious Attacks on his Good-name and Reputation; especially as they proceeded from Persons, from whom he had hoped, by his many Years Services, a far different Usage and Return.

SIR *Edward Sackvil's* generous Nature was affected with this Discourse; and he very earnestly and warmly moved the Company, to appoint some Persons, to put an immediate and effectual End to this Business. For, as Sir *Thomas Smith* had thus fairly put himself upon his Trial, he thought, that to delay it, would hardly be just, and to deny it quite, would be an evident and downright Injustice. Whereupon Sir *Edwin Sandys* said, that the Office of Auditors, as he conceived, was not to make, but to examine and settle an Account; that the Accounts, exhibited by Sir *Thomas Smith*, had been found by the Auditors, after great Labour and Pains spent upon them, to be so disorderly, intricate, and defective, that they scarce merited the Name of Accounts; that he spoke not this, to lay any Aspersions on Sir *Thomas Smith*, further than of Neglect (for it was well known, that he neither made, nor kept those Accounts himself) but to clear the Auditors and the Company, from all Imputation and Blame. For they had often declared their Exceptions and the Difficulties of those Accounts, as well to Sir *Thomas Smith*, as to the Company; and he then had a Writing, which contained many weighty

1623. Exceptions against them. However, altho' they seemed to him to be altogether bottomless and unexaminable, yet he promised, that the Auditors should proceed in them, with all possible Expedition.

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ALDERMAN *Johnson* and Mr. *Effington* were now likewise found, to be clearly indebted eight hundred Pounds to the Company, besides the old Magazine Accounts, which they kept so dark and intricate, that the Auditors had not yet been able, fully to explicate and unravel them. And Sir *Samuel Argall* (for, about this time, he received the Honour of Knighthood) was still under Prosecution from the Company, for his Rapines and extortionate Administration in *Virginia*. So that it was evident, that these Gentlemen could never be safe or secure, as long as the Company continued in Being; and it is greatly to be suspected, that they, by the Part they acted in the late Comotions, aimed not so much at the Dissolution of the Contract, as the Dissolution of the Company. But now the Contract being annulled, and the Disturbances somewhat allayed, they resolved to keep the Company still in Employment, and not permit them to enjoy any long Leisure or Tranquility. For soon after the Dissolution of the Contract, Alderman *Johnson* presented, in a private and concealed Manner, a Writing to his Majesty, entitled; *The humble Petition of sundry Adventurers and Planters in the Virginia and Somer-Islands Plantations*. The Substance of this was:

THAT among the many memorable Works of his Majesty's gracious Reign, the Plantations of *Virginia* and the *Somer-Islands* were not the least considerable: That these were the first *American Colonies*, attempted and brought to Effect, by the *English Nation*: That the Beginning of the Enterprize was attended with so great an Expence, without any present Hope of Retribution, as was sufficient, at the first View and Computation, to have discouraged the most forward and resolute Adventurers: That however, by the Divine Assistance and his Majesty's gracious Encouragement, together with that mild and discreet Government, at first settled and appointed by his Majesty, all sorts of Men were, in such kind and friendly Manner, invited and induced to engage themselves in it, that notwithstanding those many Difficulties, that great Action, which must otherwise have perished in the Birth, not only took Life and Being, but also proceeded, for many Years, in a most hopeful and comfortable Course: That there was then Unity and Love among themselves at home, and Peace and Quiet with the Savages abroad; by which means, sundry of

of those Infidels, and some of eminent Rank, were converted to the *Christian* Religion, and many Staple Commodities began to be raised and imported into *England*: That such were the Blessings, in those Times, upon their just and peaceable Proceedings; whereas it had come to pass, they knew not how, that notwithstanding his Majesty's Subjects had been, in great Multitudes, transported to the Plantations, yet the afore said Commodities, and the other Fruits of the Enterprize, had not appeared of late, as in former Times; their Unity at home was turned into civil Discord and Dissension; and their Peace abroad, into Massacre and Hostility between the Natives and the Colony; and that many of the ancient Adventurers and Planters conceived themselves, to be many ways injured, abused, and oppressed:

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THAT fearing, upon these Accounts, without the Help of a supreme Hand, the utter Ruin and Destruction of those great and noble Undertakings, and not holding it fit, to trouble his Majesty's sacred Ears with all particular Complaints and Allegations, they humbly besought him, to nominate and appoint some worthy Persons, by Commission under the great Seal of *England*, who by Oath, or otherwise, by all lawful Ways and Means, should enquire and examine; What was the true State of the Colonies, at the Time, when Sir *Thomas Smith* left the Government of the Companies; what Monies had since been collected for the Plantations; by whom received, and how the same had been procured and expended; and what, after so vast an Expence, was the present State and Condition of the Colonies: That the said Commissioners should also enquire into all Grievances and Abuses; what Wrongs had been done to any of the Adventurers or Planters, together with the Grounds and Causes thereof; and should propose, how the same might in time to come, be reformed and prevented; and how the Business of the Colonies might be better managed and carried on. So that, all Contentions being reconciled, the Authors thereof condignly punished, Peace and Unity restored, and the Government of Affairs better established, those noble Works might go on and prosper with a Blessing from Heaven, to his Majesty's great Honour and Profit, and to the religious and publick Ends, for which they were at first undertaken.

ABOUT the same time, Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, a Creature of the Earl of *Warwick's*, who had been sent to pillage *Bermudas*, and had fled thence to *Virginia*, as hath been already mentioned, was introduced to the King, and obliged, as it was pretended, to give his Majesty an Ac-

1623. count of the State of the Colony in *Virginia*. This he presented, under the starched and affected Title of, *The unmasked Face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in the Winter 1622*. This contained the following Particulars and Allegations.

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1. THAT he found the *English* Plantations generally seated upon mere Marshes, full of infectious Bogs and muddy Creeks and Lakes; and thereby subject to all those Inconveniencies and Diseases, which are commonly found in the most unhealthy Parts of *England*, whereof every Country and Climate hath some.

2. THAT he found the Shores and Sides of those Parts of the main River, where the Plantations were settled, every where so shallow, that no Boat could approach them. So that, besides the Difficulty, Danger, and Spoil of Goods in landing, the poor People were forced to a continual Wetting and Wading, and that in the Midst of Winter, when the Ships commonly arrived; and that they thereby got such violent Surfeits of Cold upon Cold, as never left them, till they were brought to their Graves.

3. THAT the People, sent over, arriving, for the most part, very unseasonably in Winter, found neither Guest-house, Inn, nor any such Place, to shelter themselves from the Weather; no, not so much as a Stroke given, towards any such charitable and necessary Work. So that many, for want hereof, were not only seen dying under Hedges, and in the Woods, but being dead, lay some of them many Days, unregarded and unburied.

4. THAT the Colony, that Winter, was in great Distress for Provisions, so that *English* Meal was sold for thirty, and their own native Corn, called Maize, for ten and fifteen Shillings a Bushel. But that, however heavy this might lay upon the poor People, there were Reasons to suspect, it was not unaffected by the Chief Men. For they only having the Means, in these Extremities, to trade with the Natives, did hereby engross all into their Hands, and sell it out at their own Prices. To which he added, that he himself had heard from the Mouth of a prime one among them, that he would never wish their own Corn cheaper, than eight Shillings a Bushel.

5. THAT their Houses were generally the worst, that he had ever seen; the meanest Cottages in *England* being every way equal, if not superior, to the best Houses in *Virginia*. And that besides, they were seated, so improvidently, and scatteringly one from another, as partly by their Distance, but especially by the Interposition of Creeks
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and Swamps, they offered all Advantages to the savage Enemy, and were utterly deprived of the Means of sudden Recollection, upon any emergent Occasion.

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6. THAT he found not the least Piece of Fortification: That three Pieces of Ordinance only were mounted at *James-City*, and one at *Flower-de-hundred*, but not one of them serviceable. So that it was certain, that a small Bark of an hundred Tons might take it's Time, to pass up the River, and coming to an Anchor before *James-Town*, might beat all their Houses about their Ears, and so forcing them to retreat into the Woods, land under the Favour of their Ordinance, and rifle the Town at Pleasure.

7. THAT expecting, according to their printed Accounts, to find sundry Commodities in great Forwardness, he found not any one of them so much as in any Towardness of Being. For the Iron-works were utterly wasted, and the People dead; the Glass Furnaces at a Stand, and in small Hopes of proceeding; and as for the rest, they were had in general Derision, even among themselves; and the Pamphlets concerning them, being sent thither by hundreds, were laughed to Scorn, and every base Fellow gave them the Lye in divers Particulars. So that Tobacco was their only Business, and for ought he could observe, every Man madded upon that, and little thought of, or looked after, any thing else.

8. THAT he found the ancient Plantations of *Henrico* and *Charles-City* quite deserted, and abandoned to the Spoil of the *Indians*; who not only burnt the Houses (said to be once the best in the Country) but fell upon their Stocks of all Kinds, and killed and destroyed them, to the great Grief, as well as utter Ruin of the old Inhabitants; who stuck not to affirm, that these were not only the best and most healthy Parts of the Country, but might also, by their natural Strength of Situation, have been the most easily preserved of all others.

9. THAT whereas, according to his Majesty's gracious Letters-patent, his People in *Virginia* were to be governed, as near as possibly could be, according to the excellent Laws and Customs of *England*, he found, not only ignorant and forced Errors in divers Particulars, but also wilful and designed Deviations from Law. Insomuch that some Persons, who urged due Conformity to his Majesty's gracious Intentions, were termed, in Contempt, *Men of the Law*, and were even excluded from those Rights, which they were elected and sworn unto in *England*.

10. THAT there having been, as it was thought, ten thousand Souls transported to *Virginia*, there were not, at

1623. that present, through the aforesaid Abuses and Neglects, above two Thousand of them to be found, and many of those also, in a most sickly and desperate State. So that it might be undoubtedly expected, unless the Confusions and private Ends of some of the Company in *England*, and the bad Execution of their Agents in *Virginia*, were speedily redressed, by a divine and supreme Hand, instead of a Plantation, it would shortly get the Name of a Slaughter-house, and so justly become odious to themselves, and contemptible to all the World.

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THE End and Design of these Representations, together with their Falshood and Unjustness in the main, will be easily seen from the foregoing Narration. But however sily and covertly they were presented to the King, the Knowledge of them could not be long kept from the Company. For the Lord *Cavendish* and Sir *Edward Sackvil* were soon advertised, by their Friends at Court, of Alderman *Johnson*'s Petition; and they had an extraordinary Court of the Company immediately warned, in order to enter upon some present Course, to prevent it's making any sinister Impressions upon his Majesty's Breast. This Court sent some of their Body to desire Alderman *Johnson*, either to bring, or send them, a Copy of the Petition, he had lately presented to his Majesty. But he said, he had neither himself a Copy, nor knew of any Person that kept a Copy of it. However he assured them, that the Petition was no ways against the Company. This was likewise affirmed by some, then present in Court, who had been at the Delivery of the Petition. They also professed themselves, to be as studious of the Good of the Plantation and of the Company, as any other whatsoever; and therefore desired the Company, not to intermeddle or engage themselves in the Matter, before they had seen the Petition. But this not satisfying the Court, they were desired to declare, what was the Subject of their Complaint, and against what Persons. For Lord *Cavendish* said, if they did not find themselves aggrieved with the Company, they ought not to have complained to his Majesty at all, 'till they had first made known their Grievances to the Court, and seen, what Remedy would have been by them applied. At length, Sir *Edward Sackvil* said, that altho' Alderman *Johnson* and his Accomplices would give them no Light into the Affair, yet himself, and some others in Court, could fully and certainly inform the Company, what was the Substance of that Petition. Whereupon he gave them a short and exact Account of it's Purport and Aim, and declared

declared it to be true, upon his own certain Knowledge; which was likewise confirmed by the Lord *Cavendish*. The Court was in no Doubt or Hesitation about the Matter, but clearly judged it, to be directly against the Company; and accordingly resolved, to justify their Conduct. But as to the Issue of the Alderman's Petition, they readily joined in it, and ordered a Petition to be presented in the Company's Name, to beseech his Majesty, that the Examination of these things might be referred to the Lords of the Privy Council; that so their Innocency, or their Guiltiness, might be either cleared, or punished. And in the mean time, to prevent all Prepossession against them, they ordered a Declaration of the present State of *Virginia*, comparatively with it's former State under Sir *Thomas Smith*, which had, by the Earl of *Southampton's* Order, been drawn up by a Committee of the Council, about the *Christmas* before, to be now read in the Court, and being, with some small Alterations, confirmed, to be delivered to his Majesty, as the Company's Act. This Declaration set forth:

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THAT in *December*, 1618, being the twelfth Year from the first Settlement of the Colony, after fourscore thousand Pounds Expence, and upwards, of the publick Stock, besides other Sums of private Planters and Adventurers, there were remaining in *Virginia* about six hundred Persons, Men, Women, and Children, and of Cattle about three hundred at the most; and that the Company was then left in Debt near five thousand Pounds: But that then (*Christmas* 1622) through the Divine Blessing, notwithstanding the late Mortalities in all those Parts of *America*, and notwithstanding the Massacre, and the great Mortality, consequent thereon, by the People's being driven from their Habitations and Provisions, there were still remaining (as was computed) above five and twenty hundred Persons; sent over at the Expence only of thirty thousand Pounds of the publick Stock, besides the Charges of particular Societies and Planters; that the Cattle were also increased to above a thousand Head, besides Goats, and infinite Numbers of Swine; and that the old Debt, left on the Company by Sir *Thomas Smith*, was wholly discharged:

THAT at the said Time, *December*, 1618, the only Commodities of Value, returned from *Virginia*, were Tobacco and Sassafras; whereas, during the four last Years, great Sums had been expended, and infinite Care and Diligence bestowed, by the Officers and Company, for setting forward various Commodities and Manufactures; as Iron-Works, Wine, Silk, Sawing-Mills, Salt-Pans, and other things of the like Nature; And that they had been particu-

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larly careful, according to his Majesty's Advice and Directions, to restrain the Colony from their too eager Pursuit of Tobacco, as did abundantly appear, from their frequent Letters, Instructions, and Charters to that Effect, with sundry printed Books and Pamphlets, made purposely and published for their Use and Direction :

THAT as to the Government, it had been, within the four last Years, reformed according to his Majesty's original Directions, in the Letters-patent ; and the People were no longer discontented and mutinous, but now lived in great Peace and Tranquility : And to the End, that Persons of Worth might be allured to the Places of Power and Profit, and all Occasion of Rapine and Extortion removed, they had raised a competent annual Provision and Revenue, for the Governor, and all other Officers and Magistrates, and particularly for the Clergy, according to the Degree and Quality of each Place :

THAT these their Cares were, by no means, lost or ineffectual ; but as they had settled the Colony in perfect Quiet and Content, so they had raised at home so great a Fame of *Virginia*, that Men now, not only out of Necessity, as at first, but many Persons of good Quality and Fortune had, out of Choice, removed themselves thither, and were daily providing to remove :

THAT there had been granted, in the last four Years, forty four Patents for Land, for each of which the Patentees had undertaken to transport one hundred Men at the least ; whereas, in the former twelve Years, there had not been granted above six :

THAT, in the said time, there had been employed forty two Ships, most of great Burthen (whereof seventeen Sail were, about *Christmas* last, in *James River* at once) whereas, in four Years before, there were not above twelve employed :

THAT, in the said four last Years, there had come in ten times the Number of Adventurers, as had done in twice the time before : So that, whereas before the legal Number of twenty could scarce be got together, to make a Quarter Court, it seldom now consisted of less than two hundred, and sometimes of many more :

THAT they could not omit the extraordinary Blessing of God, in exciting the Hearts of many zealous and devout Persons, to extend their Aid towards this glorious Work, who had contributed, within the four last Years, to the Value of fifteen hundred Pounds, for pious and religious Uses ; a Fruit, whereof the preceeding Years were altogether barren :

THAT

THAT however it could not be denied, but that the Encrease and Prosperity of the Colony had lately received a fatal Blow and Interruption, by the *Indian* Massacre; and their Peace and Unity at home had been much broken and disturbed, by divers troublesome Oppositions. But the one, they hoped, would soon be sharply punished and revenged; and the other must, with Patience be borne, and overcome with Constancy.

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AND lastly, they concluded with beseeching his Majesty (as being the first Founder, and gracious Supporter of this great Enterprize, which would continue to all Posterity a constant Monument of his glorious Name) to grant them the four hundred young Men, long since promised to be levied on the several Counties, in order to be sent to *Virginia*, to root out the barbarous Enemy, and to supply the Colony, in Parts yet defective and unsettled; and they doubted not, in a short time to be able, to yield him so good and so real an Account of the Fruit of their Cares and Labours, as might, in some sort, be answerable to their Duty, and to his Majesty's princely Expectation.

BESIDES this Declaration, the Lord *Cavendish* produced another Writing, containing a Vindication of the late Conduct of the *Virginia* and *Somer-Islands* Companies. His Lordship had drawn this up himself, for the Satisfaction of some very noble Persons, who had, from sinister Informations, conceived a hard Opinion of the Companies Proceedings; and as, he said, those Noblemen, upon reading that Discourse, were fully satisfied of the Justice and Fairness of their Actions, so he hoped, it might work the like Effect upon his Majesty's Mind. Whereupon that Writing was deliberately read, and every Article and Branch thereof, being duly weighed and considered, was severally put to the Question, and it was ordered to be delivered to his Majesty, as the Company's Act and Answer; there being not above three Voices against any Part thereof, and most of them being confirmed and approved, by an unanimous Consent. This long Discourse contained three different Heads: First, Answers to the several Objections against the Company's Proceedings: Secondly, the true Causes of the late Disagreement and Disturbances: And thirdly, it proposed Remedies, for preventing the like Inconveniencies and Factions for the future.

I am sensible, that the long Detail of Declarations and Answers, is a most tedious and unpleasant Part of History to the common Reader; and I have observed, that such Pieces, even in the Hands of our best Writers, and however necessary to clear up Points of History, have nevertheless

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less been much distast'd by several Persons. But as these publick Papers contain the most authentic Reason and Account of things, and as they are the surest and most indubitable Materials, for an Historian to proceed upon, I shall not be turned from my Course, by the accidental Dislike of some Readers. For the Dissolution of the Company now draws on, and I intend to give a full View of the Motives and Proceedings in that Affair; which can be from nothing drawn so well, as from the publick Acts and Writings of both Parties, and their outward Pretences at least, and different Allegations. However, I esteem it my Part and Duty, to save the Reader from all unnecessary Forms and Repetitions; and to give him the Substance of those original Acts and Records, in the shortest Manner I possibly can, without injuring or obscuring their main Sense and material Points. As for this Discourse therefore, now presented by Lord *Cavendish*, and adopted by the Company, it set forth: That it was manifest, his Majesty's Ears had been abused by divers Misinformations, to which they held it their Duty to give a true and justifiable Answer.

I. IT was objected, that some few of the Company led and overswayed the rest; and that, in the particular Business of the Contract, these Persons, aiming at their own private Advantage, especially in the Point of Salaries, had therefore persuaded and misled the Court.

To this it was answered; that it was true, some particular Persons, with great Labour and Pains, and without any Hope or Prospect of Reward, had employed much of their Time and Endeavours, in studying, what might tend to the Good and Benefit of the Colonies; and this only with the View, to propose and communicate to the Courts their faithful and impartial Advice; which was the Duty, and in the Power, of every Member of those Societies, to do. But that this honest Diligence, and these clear and disinterested Views, should be interpreted an enslaving or misleading the Courts, was, in their Opinion, a most unjust Censure, and a hard Requital to those Persons, who, for the publick Good, had bestowed so much of their Time, and neglected many Opportunities of private Gain.

AND as to the Supposition, that these Men, in Respect of the Salaries, had misguided the Courts in the Case of the Contract, they made his Majesty a clear and faithful Narrative of their Proceedings in that Business; much the same in Effect as I have already related it. And they declared, that the Gentlemen, elected to the two great Salaries, against which the opponent Faction chiefly exclaimed, did, at sundry times, both in publick and private, use all possible

ble Endeavour and Industry, to keep themselves from being chosen: But that the Company's Experience of their Faithfulness and Ability, had caused them to be elected, and in a manner forced to those Employments, against their Wills: And that they had since, in several Courts, as much as in them lay, surrendered their Offices; but their Resignation would never be received or admitted by the Company.

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2. It was objected, that the Courts were overawed, especially in the Business of the Contract.

To which it was replied, that it was a strange Boldness in any, especially in any of the Company, who knew their Proceedings therein, to affirm a thing so manifestly false and groundless; which the Company were so perfectly convinced of, that this was one of the principal Causes, why Mr. *Wrote*, who first broached that Slander, was censured and suspended. And they told his Majesty, that this Point had been put to the Vote, often and in different Courts, when different Persons were present, and it had always been unanimously adjudged a false and scandalous Imputation.

3. It was alledged, that these Persons, when they could not carry Matters by Plurality of Voices, spun out the Courts 'till eleven o'Clock at Night; by which Means, those, who would have opposed their Schemes, being overwearied with so long sitting, departed.

THEY owned, that the Day, here meant, the Courts sat 'till about ten o'Clock. But they gave his Majesty the Reasons of it: That many long Courts were to be read and examined; that Mr. *Wrote's* Affair took up much Time; and that they were afterwards obliged, to enter upon several Points relating to the Contract, which must be then determined, or else deferred for above three Months, till the next Quarter Court; and that this would have been much to the Prejudice of that Business, as they daily expected the Arrival of a great Quantity of Tobacco. But as to what was chiefly insinuated by this Objection, they declared it to be utterly false. For altho' some perhaps departed before the Rising of the Court, yet not one of the opponent Party went away; and at the very last, when the Question was put, there were, besides divers Noblemen and Knights, about an hundred Persons in the Court.

4. It was alledged, that whilst the Contract was in Agitation, the Courts were purposely put off, for seven Weeks together; that some Planters who were shortly to go away, might not have Opportunity to complain against it.

THIS Objection they averred to be manifestly false and impossible. For the Contract, which could only be ratified in a Quarter Court, was concluded upon at their last Midsummer

1623. summer Quarter Court, when all the old Planters, being about thirty in Number, were, or might have been in the Court ; for none went away, till about eight Weeks after. Neither could it then be discovered, that any of them were discontented with it ; but on the contrary, some argued very earnestly for it. And besides, it was untrue, that the Courts were at all put off so long. For altho', by the Orders of the Companies, there might be a Cessation of their Meetings, in the long Summer Vacation, when the Noblemen and Gentlemen of principal Figure and Consequence were in the Country, unless there should occur some extraordinary and pressing Occasion, yet the Courts met more frequently that Summer, than had been usual at such Times, by reason of sending out several Ships, and with them the Company's Orders and Directions to the Colonies.

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5. IT was confidently affirmed, that the *Virginia* Planters had petitioned his Majesty, to bring all their Tobacco into *England* ; and that this Petition was, by the Officers of the Company, suppressed.

IN Confutation of this, they referred to the original Petition itself, then in the Hands of the Lord High Treasurer ; and they said, that no Man, that had ever seen that Petition, and had not a Mind wilfully to put Wrongs upon the Company, could ever screw such a Sense out of it. They likewise gave his Majesty an Account of the Occasion of the Petition, and the Reason why it was not presented ; the same, that has been already given, in the foregoing Parts of this History.

6. IT was objected, that no Business could be done in their Courts, by reason of Faction and Wrangling.

TO this they answered, that it was an odd thing, for Men to complain of that, wherein themselves were principally faulty. Yet they denied this to be true, in so general and extensive a Sense ; altho' it must be confessed, that some discontented Persons, who had lately joined together to oppose the Contract, had long waited for all Occasions, to raise Troubles and Contentions in the Companies ; whose Faces, for several Years past, had never been seen in the Courts, except when they came to raise a Tempest and Disturbance. However, they assured his Majesty, that this Faction, when they had mustered all their Forces, and sent for their whole Strength out of the Country, amounted to but twenty six Persons ; whereas the *Virginia* Company, in particular, consisted of about a thousand Adventurers, and oftentimes two hundred, or more, were assembled at once. So that this Objection of Faction and Wrangling must necessarily return back and reflect on themselves ; as
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in all well-governed Societies, the major Part was ever understood to involve the Consent of the minor, which, by making Opposition and Clamour, did undoubtedly thereby render themselves the factious Party.

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7. IT was objected, that the Government of the Companies, as it then stood, was democratical and tumultuous, and ought therefore to be altered, and reduced into the Hands of a Few—And this was properly *argumentum ad hominem*, and very weighty in the Eyes of that Prince; who had a noted Aversion to all republican Forms of Government, and was, in Truth, for a Monarchy, in the strictest and highest Sense of the Word.

HOWEVER, the Company replied, that as to the Tumultuousness objected, it was already answered in the former Article of Faction, and plainly appeared to proceed only from themselves. And as to the Democracy, they said, that the Government of the Companies was no other, than what was prescribed in his Majesty's Letters-patent; and it was a bold Censure, thus to tax a Government, ordained and constituted by such an Authority. But yet they denied this Allegation to be just, or that their Government was properly democratical. For the Companies had not supreme Authority over the People of the Plantations, but governed them by an Authority derived from the King, according to his Laws, and were accountable to his Majesty for their Conduct; and therefore that Government could not properly be termed democratical, where the King was supreme, and where the People swore Allegiance only to him. And they added farther, that the Companies were so far from having supreme Power over the People of the Colonies, that when any Man had committed Offences, of what high Nature so ever (as lately appeared by two notorious Instances) if they could escape Punishment in the Plantations, where the Companies had Power, by his Majesty's Letters-patent, to call them to Trial and Account, they might, there in *England*, outface the Companies (as those two did) and they could have no Means of Redress, but by appealing to higher Justice.

HOWEVER, they owned, that, according to his Majesty's Institution, their Government had some Shew of a democratical Form; which was nevertheless, in that Case, the most just and profitable, and most conducive to the Ends and Effect aimed at thereby. For those Plantations, tho' much furthered by his Majesty's Grace, were yet chiefly founded by the Purfes of private Men; who would never have adventured their Fortunes in such an Enterprize, if, in the Regulation and Government of the Business, their own

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Votes and Opinions had not been admitted. Besides which, such infant Undertakings often called for large and speedy Supplies, which could not be sent, but by the Purse of many Men; who, had their Voices been excluded, and the Management committed to a Few, would not perhaps have been over-forward and hasty in contributing towards their Relief.

LASTLY, they observed, that the opponent Faction cried out loudly against Democracy, and yet called for Oligarchy; which would, as they conceived, make the Government neither of better Form, nor more monarchical. But they however hereby discovered their Aim and Desire, which was to draw all things into their own Hands and Power, as had been sufficiently manifested before, by some of their late Steps and Actions.

HAVING thus given Answers to the most material Scandals against the Companies, they next proceeded, to inform his Majesty of the true Causes, tho' disguised, why these twenty six, by their secret Whisperings and Insinuations, and by their continual under-hand Practices, so much laboured, to disgrace the Government of the Companies, and in Effect, to bring the Plantations to utter Ruin. And they assured his Majesty, that, whatever Imputations they might lay on the Companies behind their Backs, they never yet had the Confidence, openly to avow and maintain them in their Courts, but always qualified them with such Distinctions and Equivocations, as amounted to a flat Denial of what they had said. And

1. THE first Cause of these Mens Malice was the ill Affection of the old Officers; out of whose Hands (the Colonies having not prospered under them) the Government was necessarily taken; and their Prosperity since, implying the evident Benefit of that Removal, and a manifest Proof of their ill Government, it had so offended them, that they endeavoured, the better to cover that Fault, by publick Disturbances, and private Practice and Confederation, to interrupt the present Prosperity of the Colonies, and to blemish the Reputation, and disturb the Peace of the Companies: And that, to this End, they had not forbore to set to their Hands in Attestation of most false and scandalous Petitions; frequently to lay Imputations themselves on the Courts; sometimes to procure Complaints from others against them; and at all times to yield a public Encouragement and Protection to such Persons, as had done Wrong, or were declared Enemies, to the Companies.

2. THE second Cause was, that the principal of those Citizens, and some others, who had wove themselves into
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the Opposition, were for the most Part such, as had formerly borne Office, either in the Companies, or the Plantations; who having not cleared their many Accounts (some of which were very suspicious) and being pressed by the Companies, used all the Art, that Malice could invent, to do Prejudice, and give Disturbance, to the present Government; hoping, by that means to shroud themselves from a due Examination, and so, in the Storm and Confusion, to go off, unconvicted and unpunished.

3. SOME others of these Opponents, of a different Rank and Quality, had either been concerned in spoiling and fleecing the Plantations, and in setting forth a piratical Ship, called the *Treasurer*; or else had abetted and protected those, who had done it, with such Violence, as was greatly to the Offence, Scandal, and Wrong of the Company. But their Ends not fully answering their Expectations, they had therefore abandoned the *Virginia* Courts, except when they came to raise Troubles and Dissentions, in order, by that means, to keep the Company from calling those Offences into Question.

4. MOST of the twenty six were involved in some, or all these Causes of Dissension; and the few that remained, were either Servants to, or had necessary Dependency upon, some of the rest.

LASTLY, they went on to propose some Remedies, to prevent the like Inconveniences and Disturbances for the future. Since therefore these Colonies were chiefly settled, for the Honour of his Majesty's Times, in propagating the *Christian* Religion in those barbarous Parts; for the Enlargement of his Dominions; for the Encrease of his Revenue; for the enriching his People; and for the future Strength and Ornament of the Kingdom of *England*; they besought his Majesty, to give Countenance and Encouragement to their Labours; to believe well of the Companies, and not give too ready a Credit to the malicious and pre-concerted Informations of some of their Members; and to grant them some such present Testimony of his good Opinion, and gracious Acceptance of their Endeavours, by Letter or otherwise, as might do Honour to the Company, and strengthen their Authority. And this they were the rather induced to hope, as the late great Breach in the Companies had been occasioned, by their Forwardness and Desire, to advance his Majesty's Profit and Revenue by the Contract. And they farther besought his Majesty, to be graciously pleased to declare his Intention, that, in all Business of the Courts for the future, they should be left freely to govern themselves, by their Charters and Laws; and withal, to give

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1623. present Order to the Lords of the Privy Council, that, if there should be any such private Conspiracy, Confederation, or Opposition, as the Companies themselves could neither remedy nor punish, to afford them their Help and Assistance, in the Remedy and Punishment of the same. And lastly they prayed, that for such, as had been accused of heinous Crimes, committed in the Plantations, and had thence escaped, and then braved the Companies in *England*, his Majesty would be graciously pleased, to extend his Power, and send them back to the Plantations, there to receive their just and legal Trials. And by these Assistances, the Companies would be enabled, chearfully to proceed, and in short time so to advance those great and noble Undertakings, as would give his Majesty full Content, and just Cause to believe, that these his Favours had been well bestowed, and rightly used.

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THE Earl of *Southampton* was not present, when these things passed; and as he was obnoxious at Court, and had received some ill Usage from it, it may be surmised, that he kept out of the Way purposely, to avoid being farther embroiled. But it is, I think, much more agreeable to the Character of that worthy and patriot Nobleman, to suppose, that he did not desert his Station in such a Manner, but was absent on other just and necessary Occasions. In his Absence therefore, these two Papers (together with a Petition to his Majesty, to refer the Hearing of the Complaints of Alderman *Johnson* and his Associates, to the Body of his most Honourable Privy Council) were committed to Lord *Cavendish*, Lord *Delawarr*, Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *John Brooke*, and Colonel *Ogle*, to take the first proper Opportunity to present them to his Majesty, and to make Choice of such others of the Company, as they thought fit, to attend them.

THIS Court also, at Mr. Deputy *Farrar*'s Motion, conferred the Freedom of the Company on *Carew Ralegh* Esq; the only surviving Son of Sir *Walter*. He had gone, after his Father's Death, a Gentleman Commoner, to *Wadham* College, in *Oxford*; where he continued his Studies, about five Years. About this time, being yet scarce twenty Years of Age, he came up to *London*, and went to Court; hoping by the Favour of *William*, Earl of *Pembroke*, his noble Kinsman, to obtain some Redress, in the Hardships and Wrongs done him. But the King did not like his Countenance there; and said, that he appeared in his Court, like his Father's Ghost. Wherefore, by the Earl's Advice, he removed himself from his Majesty's Sight, and went upon his Travels, till a more favourable Conjunction should offer.

offer. But however fixed this Monarch might be in his Antipathy, and however steady and constant in doing an eternal Dishonour to his own Judgment and Fame, by disgracing and depressing every thing that had Relation to this Great Man, the *Virginia* Company seems to have had a quite different Notion of things. For they willingly embraced the Pretence, of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* being the first Discoverer of *Virginia*, to testify their Respect to his Memory and Merit, by conferring extraordinarily, upon his Son, the Freedom of the Company, and a Voice in their Courts. And he accordingly appears at their Courts, commonly ranked with the Knights, till *June* the next Year, at which time, it may be supposed, he went on his Travels.

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SOON after this, authentic Copies of Alderman *Johnson's* Petition and Captain *Butler's* Information were, by some Person, sent to the Company; which being publickly and distinctly read, the Court was informed by Persons of Worth, that this Report, in particular, of the Unhealthiness of the Country, and of the Colony's being seated among Bogs and Marshes, having been industriously spread by Captain *Butler* and his Associates, not only over all Parts of the City, but likewise into divers Parts of the Country, was likely to stop many hundreds of People, who were preparing to transport themselves thither; and that it was therefore absolutely necessary, to make an immediate Enquiry about that Matter. Whereupon some, then present, who had been long and often in *Virginia*, affirmed upon their certain Knowledge, that, at all the Plantations on the main River, they might land, with Boats drawing three Foot Water, from half Flood to half Ebb, safe and dry, without wetting their Foot; and that they had found, by their own Experience, the Air to be as wholesome, and the Soil for the most Part, as fertile, as in any Part of *England*, or of any other Country, where they had been. But the better to obviate the ill Consequences and Calumnies of Captain *Butler's* Information, an Answer was drawn up in Writing against the next Meeting of the Company, and subscribed by the Rev. Mr. *William Mease*, a Minister, who had lived ten Years in *Virginia*; by one Mr. *John Procter*, a Man of good Sort, who had lived there fourteen Years; and by fourteen others, Masters of Ships, Mariners, and Inhabitants, who had been and lived, some more and some less, in the Country, and were perfectly acquainted with the River, and all Parts of the Colony. This Answer, which they declared themselves ready to justify upon Oath, contained a flat Denial and Disproof of

1623. the seven first Articles of *Butler's* Information. As to the three last, they left them to be answered by the Governor and Company, as relating immediately to themselves, and containing things, either above their Determination, or out of their Knowledge. And as this Writing contained the Testimony of Eye-witnesses to Matters of Fact, it agreed so exactly in Substance with an Answer, afterwards returned from *Virginia* by the Governor and General Assembly, that I shall not detain the Reader, at present, with an Abstract of it, but shall refer to that more authentic Testimony of the whole Body of the Colony, which will be hereafter recited, in it's proper Time and Place.

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BUT besides this Disproof of Captain *Butler's* Information, the farther to detect and expose his malicious Designs and unfair Proceedings, two Papers were produced in Court, and admitted to Record, under the Hands of *John Severne*, Masters-Mate, and *John Lowe*, Boatswain, of the *James*. In these they affirmed, that coming, one Morning, to Captain *Nathaniel Butler*, about some Business, the said Captain brought a Writing in his Hand, and began to read some Part of it; telling them, he had been with the King, and protesting, the Writing was for the Good of the Country. Whereupon they, being in great Haste, having heard a few Lines only read, and not attending much to the Matter, and besides conceiving Captain *Butler* to be a very honest Man, did readily set their Hands to the said Writing. But having since understood, that it was in Disgrace and Disparagement of the Country, they, the said *John Severne* and *John Lowe*, did thereby disavow the said Writing, as false and unjust; and farther protested, that, upon their Oaths, they must declare the contrary. And all these Proofs of his wilful Malice and Injustice did Captain *Butler* sit in the Court and hear, and calmly demanded a Copy of the Answer to his Information.

BUT as his Majesty intended, in Compliance with the Petitions of both Alderman *Johnson* and the Company, to appoint Commissioners to enquire into all these Matters and Allegations, the Court thought it proper, to prepare betimes to make their Defence. To this End, as the Company consisted of many Members of both Houses of Parliament, they were naturally led to the Parliamentary Methods of proceeding, and resolved themselves into a grand Committee of the whole Company, which had Power, to substitute and ordain other Sub-Committees, for expediting Matters; that so the Business, being parted among many Hands, might be the more speedily and better accomplished. And now having Copies of Alderman *Johnson's* and Captain

tain *Butler's* Complaints, they soon after drew up direct and particular Answers to them both.

IN Answer to Alderman *Johnson's* Petition, they observed, that it was founded upon three main Allegations: First, that the former Government, under Sir *Thomas Smith*, as Treasurer, and Mr. *Canning* and himself, as Deputy-Treasurers, was mild and discreet; whereby all Sorts of Persons were induced to engage themselves in that great and difficult Action, which thence proceeded in a most hopeful Way, and with Peace and Concord; whereas it had of late come to pass, that their Love and Unity at home were turned into civil Discord and Dissension; and that divers of the ancient Adventurers and Planters conceived themselves, to be many ways injured, abused and oppressed.

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To this they replied: That as to the Government at home in those times, all his Majesty's particular Instructions therein were clean suppressed and extinguished, and the Originals no longer extant; and that there were no Orders made for the Government of the Company, except now and then one, upon present Occasion. And as to the Government abroad in the Colony, it was, for the most part, left absolutely to the Governor's Will and Pleasure; only instead of a Body of moderate Laws, agreeable to the Constitution and Government of *England*, there was printed at home, and with great Honour dedicated to Sir *Thomas Smith*, and afterwards by him sent to *Virginia*, by his own Authority, and without the Company's Order or Consent, a Book of most truculent Laws, written in Blood; which, altho' they might serve for Martial Government in time of War, being translated most of them from the Martial Laws of the United Provinces, yet were absolutely destructive of all the native Rights and Liberties of *English* Subjects, and very far from deserving the Name of a mild Government, here given it by the Petitioners: And that, for this Cause, People in *England* were deterred from going over in Person, to live there under such bloody and tyrannical Laws, and many of his Majesty's Subjects in *Virginia* were put to most unjust and undeserved Deaths. But most especially, such a Weapon was hereby put into the Hands of one of the Governors, a Kinsman of Sir *Thomas Smith*, that he, in a manner, spoiled and destroyed the whole Colony, as was still extant and to be seen, in the Letters of Sir *Thomas Smith*, himself and Alderman *Johnson*.

THAT the Consequence of this Misgovernment was, that the Colony was wasted to a few hundreds of People, who had nevertheless no Intent to proceed in the Plan-

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tation, but being destitute of Food, both spiritual and temporal, cried out loudly against the Company, for Injustice and Cruelty; being some times, in Despair, all shipped to return, and at other times, in Revenge, adopting to themselves new Patrons and Defenders against their bad Government. And that Adventurers at home did indeed, at first, come plentifully in, as to a new Thing; but that, at last, they abandoned the Courts, and refused to pay their Monies subscribed; for which being sued, they pleaded in Chancery, upon their Oaths, that the Monies were not converted to the Use intended, but to particular Men's Gains; and that no Accounts were kept, or were at least to be seen. But on the contrary, they said, what Reforms had been made, and what Measures taken, in Point of Government, for the four last Years, might be apparent to all Men; and that their Labours herein had given such Satisfaction to the Plantations, that the Colony of *Virginia* had, in particular, by a publick Act in their General Assembly, returned Thanks to the Company, for their great Love, Justice, and Care.

As for Discord and Dissension, they acknowledged, within the Compass of the four last Years, there had been some great Rents made in the Council and Company; but that these proceeded wholly from the Alderman and his Party, the greatest Number of whom were seldom seen in their Courts, but when they came to raise, or to nourish, this very Discord and Faction, they here complained of. And as to the Wrongs and Oppression of the ancient Adventurers and Planters, they challenged him to shew, that the Justice, which it was in the Company's Power to give, had ever been denied to any Man whatsoever; much less had the Goods of some particular Persons in the Colonies, by private Directions and underhand Letters, been taken violently from them, contrary to all Justice and due Course of Law, and consigned into the Hands of their potent Adversaries in *England*; as was notoriously done, in the Case of Captain *Miles Kendal*, formerly Governor of *Bermudas*, who was spoiled by Captain *Butler*, his Successor, of fourteen Negroes, granted him by a *Dutch* Captain, under a false and groundless Pretence, that they belonged to their piratical Ship, the *Treasurer*.

THE second Allegation of Alderman *Johnson's* Petition was: That, under the former Government, they had Peace with the *Indians*, by which means sundry of those Infidels, and some of eminent Rank, were converted to the *Christian* Religion; whereas, of late, there had been a Massacre and Hostility between the Natives and the Colony of *Virginia*.

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IN Answer to this, they denied, that except *Pocahontas* (whom they here call *Matoax*) there had happened any thing of Note in the Conversion of those Infidels, under Sir *Thomas Smith's* Administration. And they farther affirmed, that, during his time, the *English* were almost in a continual War and Hostility with the *Indians*; and that, in particular, Captain *Argall* came away, in the last Part of that time, and left unpunished the Murder of ten of the *English*, by a Party of the *Chickahominies*. But on the contrary, how great, and what chargeable Attempts, had been made, within the last four Years, for the Conversion and Education of those Infidels, was sufficiently evident, from the Plantation for the College; on which, notwithstanding the late Massacre, they conceived, there were yet remaining sixty Tenants, or thereabouts. And the Company had indeed, in their first Letter after the Knowledge of the Massacre, proposed Methods, and given strict Orders, to the Governor and Council, for the Renewal of the College, and Resettlement of it's Lands; but Means being wanting, the Governor and Council could do nothing in it to Effect. However they promised, that that pious Work should, by the Divine Assistance, again proceed, in due time. And as to the Hostility with the *Indians*, they declared, there had been none, within the four last Years, before the late treacherous and bloody Massacre; which had it not happened, these Maligners must have been mute, and would have had nothing to alledge to the Disgrace of the Company and Plantation.

THE third Allegation of the Alderman's Petition was: That, in the first twelve Years, divers Staple-Commodities began to be raised and imported into *England*; whereas, of late Years, the aforesaid Commodities did not appear.

THEY replied, that this Objection reflected strongly on the Objector himself. They owned, that some Samples of those Commodities had been, by the Industry of Sir *Thomas Dale*, sent home, in the ninth and tenth Years of the first twelve; but that none had appeared, in the two last, under the Government of Captain *Argall*. The Reason of which was, that the Magazine being then on foot, whereof the Alderman was Director, it pleased him, to set no Price upon any other Commodity, except Tobacco and Sassafras, being Commodities of his own Trade, and for the greatest Part whereof he himself became the Company's Chapman; and that, by this means, all Endeavours for those other Commodities were abandoned, and the Colony possessed with that doating Affection for Tobacco, which the Company had not since, with all their Care, been able to extinguish.

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As for that Pretence, that the Petition aimed at no other End, but that after the Work of some necessary Reformation, the Work of the Plantations might be again renewed and prosper; they said, they were obliged, therein to detect the Alderman's unclear Proceedings. For it should be justified against him, by undeniable Proof: That he had laboured of late, by strange and false Allegations, to discourage some Persons of Eminence and Fortune, from favouring or proceeding in the Enterprize: That he had brow-beaten and found Fault with such, as had commended the Country, so much extolled formerly by himself, in sundry printed Treatises; and had declared, that the World had been cheated and deluded by *Virginia*: That he had said, there were too many of the *English* Nation there already; that the Staple-Commodities, spoken of, would come to nothing; that the Iron was base, and not worth the Freight; the Grapes sour, and the Climate improper for Wine; that the Mulberry Trees had a Prickle in them, which destroyed the Silk-worms, when they came to any Bigness; and that the Conversion of the Infidels was a vain and impossible Attempt, they being descended of the cursed Race of *Ham*. And now, whether a Person of this Malice and Virulency of Disposition was a proper Instrument to work out the Good of the Colonies, they left to the Judgment of all clear and impartial Minds.

LASTLY, touching the Issue of the Petition, that all Abuses might be examined and reformed, the Company declared, they willingly concurred with the Petitioners therein, but could not forbear remarking their too evident Partiality. For they desired only, that the Accounts since Sir *Thomas Smith's* Time might be examined, which had always been fairly kept, and legally audited, according to the Orders of the Court, (except by one only of the Petitioner's Society) and yet they passed the Accounts of the former Years over in Silence, which were nevertheless three times as large, and thrice three times more questionable.

IN their Answer to Captain *Butler's* Information, they recited, that the seven first Articles had been answered by sixteen Eye-witnesses of the Matters alledged, Men of unquestionable Character and Veracity, who were ready, at any time, to justify the same upon their Oaths. They therefore referred to that, as being the highest and most

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unexceptionable Evidence, that could be had in such a Case; and they proceeded themselves, to give Answers to the three last Articles. But as the Answer, afterwards returned from *Virginia* by the Governor and General Assembly, was much the same in Purport with this, I shall still, to avoid all tedious and needless Repetition, refer to that, hereafter to be given. But as to *Butler's* last Clause, of the Confusions and private Ends of some of the Company in *England*, and of the bad Execution of their Agents in *Virginia*, they besought his Majesty, that he might not be permitted to wander in such general and indeterminate Accusations, which only tended to Slander and Defamation, but might be obliged to make an express and particular Discovery of those Persons and Measures before the Commissioners, that were soon to be appointed. And in the mean while, they protested against it, as calumnious and unjust, and of the self-same Truth with the rest of his Informations.

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MR. *Berblock* also desired, that a short Passage, out of one of Sir *Thomas Dale's* Letters to Sir *Thomas Smith*, might be read; which he had accidentally happened upon, in perusing the Company's Books, by Order of the Court. This was dated in *June* 1613, and has been already mentioned and extracted. In it, he desires them not to be gulled by the clamorous Reports of base People, but to believe *Caleb* and *Joshua*, and gives a very great and lavish Commendation of the Country; which Mr. *John Smith* declared to agree exactly, with what he, and divers other Persons of Worth, had heard from his own Mouth in *England*; and Mr. *Copeland* affirmed, that Sir *Thomas Dale* had told him the same in Effect, at *Japan* in the *East-Indies*. There was also read Part of a Letter from Sir *Samuel Argall* to the Company, dated in *July* 1617, highly commending the Healthiness and Conveniency of *James-Town*. To these was added, at the Lord *Cavendish's* Motion, a long Declaration, by his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*, and the principal Assistants for the *Somer-Islands*; in which, they plainly, and without Disguise or Palliation, laid open the whole Scene of the Earl of *Warwick's* Proceedings, with the iniquitous Practices of himself and his Faction, but most especially of his too grand Instruments of Rapine, Sir *Samuel Argall* and Captain *Butler*. This long and particular Relation has been of singular Service, and given great Light, in the fuller Detection of their fraudulent Arts and Management; but as it contains nothing materially different from the foregoing Relation of their Proceedings, I shall ease both myself and the Reader from the Trouble of an Abstract.

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ALL these Publick Acts, Declarations, and Testimonials were laid before his Majesty, the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Commissioners. For, two Days after this, on the 9th of *May*, a Commission issued, under the Great Seal of *England*, to Sir *William Jones*, Knight, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, Sir *Nicholas Fortescue*, Sir *Francis Goston*, Sir *Richard Sutton*, Sir *William Pit*, Sir *Henry Bouchier*, and Sir *Henry Spilman*, Knights, or any four of them, to examine and enquire into all Matters and Businesses, any ways relating or appertaining to the Plantations of *Virginia* and the *Somer-Islands*. Altho' the Points, to be enquired into, ran very much, in this Commission, according to the general Heads, and even the very Words, of the latter Part of Alderman *Johnson's* Petition, yet the Lords of the Privy Council had the Alderman's Partiality reformed, and their Enquiry was not confined to the four last Years, but extended to all Acts and Things, from the first Incorporation of the Companies, and Settlement of the Colonies. Who these Commissioners were, and what were their real Characters and Conduct through Life, I cannot say. I only find, that *Cambden*, in his Annals for the Year 1619, briefly mentions *Fortescue*, *Goston*, *Sutton*, and *Pit*, late Commissioners for the Navy, and for Domestick Affairs, to be then knighted.

FROM this time, all Letters from the Colonies, both publick and private, were intercepted by his Majesty's Command; in order to surprize, and find out, any secret Combinations and underhand Practices of the Companies, or their Officers. All their Books and Records were likewise sequestered, by an Order of the Privy Council; and both the Mr. *Farrars*, the Deputy-Treasurers to the two Companies, were laid under Arrest, and confined. I cannot discover, by what Colour or Pretence this was done; but it was a great Interruption, in preparing the Company's Business, which was to be laid before the Commissioners. For their Defence depended entirely on their Books and Records, from which, they doubted not, to make their Innocency abundantly appear. And they were so sensible of the Prejudice, that would arise to the Companies, by their Deputies Restraint, who were their greatest Accomptants, and by reason of their Places, the most conversant of all others in the Business of late Years, that they petitioned the Privy Council, so far at least to set them at Liberty, that they might be able to go forward with the Company's Business, and attend the Commissioners. And their Books were accordingly soon after restored, and the Deputies released.

BUT

BUT from these, and other discouraging Circumstances, it was an easy Matter to conjecture, what was aimed at, and how things were going. And therefore the great Officers of the Company, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and the two *Farrars*, through whose Hands all the Company's Business and Money had of late Years passed, sued out their general Acquittances in the Court. And as their Accounts had undergone the Examination of the Company's Auditors, and had laid, all their legal time, and some much longer, open in the Courts, for any Person to examine, and make Exceptions against them, their Discharges were granted, under the legal Seal, by a cheerful and unanimous Concurrence of the whole Company. The Proportions of Land, formerly granted, were also confirmed to them in the strongest Manner, and Mr. *John Farrar* had the best Security they could give him, for three hundred and twenty Pounds, which he had taken up at Interest, for the Use, and by the Order of the Company; all their Effects from *Virginia* being ordered, to be consigned into his and his Brother *Nicholas Farrar's* Hands (who was likewise soon after found to be about eighty Pounds in Advance for the Company) till their Ballances, with all other Damages incident thereto, were discharged.

IN Consideration of the ill Consequences, of having continued Sir *Thomas Smith* so many Years in the Place of Treasurer, the Company had made it a standing Rule and Order, that no Person, after that, should hold the Place of Treasurer or Deputy, above three Years together. The Earl of *Southampton's* three Years being therefore now expired, Lord *Cavendish* and Lord *Paget* were named, to stand in Election to succeed him. The King had always been endeavouring, to get such a Person chosen into that Place of chief Government, as should be perfectly submissive to his Pleasure and Command. And now, on the Day of Election, the Court received a Letter from his Majesty, signifying; That he had appointed Commissioners, to examine into the present State of the Colony of *Virginia*; and as he expected to receive, within a few Days, some Account of their Labours therein, it was his Will and Pleasure, that all Officers should continue, as they were; and that they should not proceed to any new Election, before the Morrow fortnight after, at the soonest. This unexpected Order, and mysterious Reason, caused a long and general Silence in the Court. But at length, considering, that they were restrained, by their Charters, to Quarter Courts only for the Election of Officers; and that, all Offices expiring that Day, their Government would become void,

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void, and their Patents forfeited, unless something was done therein, they continued all Officers in their Places, not a Fortnight longer, but 'till the next Quarter Court, when only Election could legally be made. And thus, the King never after having expressed his Pleasure herein, and the Company, to avoid Misconstruction, forbearing to do any thing, 'till his Majesty's Pleasure was farther known, the Earl of *Southampton* and Mr. *Nicholas Farrar* were, from time to time, continued in their Places, 'till the Suppression of the Courts and Dissolution of the Company.

IN some of the intercepted letters from *Virginia*, the Lords of the Privy Council found great Complaints of the Scarcity of Provisions. This had been occasioned by the Massacre, and the consequent War with the *Indians*; by which much of their Corn and Stocks had been destroyed, and a general Interruption given to the Culture of their Lands. Their Lordships therefore called the Deputy, and a few more of the Company, before them; and acquainting them therewith, commanded them, to send an immediate Relief to the Colony. And they proposed, that the whole Company should be obliged to contribute their Parts towards it, according to the Number of each Man's Shares, by rating them at twenty, or at least ten Shillings, a Share; and that they should be compelled to pay the same, by an Order of that Board. But Mr. *Farrar* and his Associates seem, not to have been perfectly convinced of the Legality of such a Proceeding; and conceived themselves to have no Power by Law, to lay such a general Assessment on the Company, without their Consent. Wherefore, after much Debate, they prevailed on their Lordships, to permit them to proceed, in their usual Method of voluntary Subscriptions. And as the opponent Faction had been loud before the Lords of the Council, and pressed much the sending a speedy Supply, thereby endeavouring to insinuate and reflect on the Negligence and sinister Views of the Company, a Roll of Subscription was prepared purposely, and presented to them, to subscribe by themselves; and Sir *Edward Sackvil* earnestly entreated them, to be liberal and exemplary in their Contributions, since they had expressed, before the Council, so tender a Sense of the distressed State of the Colony. But they had the Confidence to withstand so strong a Snare; and the Colony was obliged to the other Side for the Supply, as I find intimated, in a Letter from Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, sent at the same time, in the Name of the Council and Company. However, it was not of that vast Use and Relief, as was imagined or pretended. For, as the Deputy and Company had judged, the Colony had gathered in their Corn, before it could possibly arrive.

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BUT notwithstanding these lowering Prospects, and this unpromising Aspect of their Affairs, the Company proceeded chearfully and boldly in their Defence. And therefore, as soon as the Commissioners were known, they deputed Sir *Edward Sackvil*, Sir *Robert Killigrew*, and Sir *John Davers*, to wait upon them, in the Company's Name; and to declare their Joy and Satisfaction, in the Commission's being issued. And they very earnestly and unanimously besought them, to take into their immediate Consideration Captain *Butler's* Information to his Majesty, entitled; *The unmasked Face of the Colony in Virginia*; which had given a deadly Wound to the happy Progress and Prosperity of that Plantation. So that until, by their Wisdom and Integrity, the Truth should be discovered, and the World again possessed with their former Hopes and good Opinion of that Colony, it must undoubtedly languish, if not shortly perish, for Want of those daily Supplies, which its Reputation alone had before raised, in great Abundance. But I do not find, that the Commissioners took the least Notice, or did any thing in Consequence, of this just and reasonable Request; altho' the Company urged it often, as a Point of great Importance, which required an immediate Examination and Dispatch. But soon after, they issued their Warrant to Mr. *Collingwood*, the Secretary, and to all other the Clerks and Officers of the *Virginia* Company, to bring before them, to the Quest-House, adjoining to St. *Andrew's* Church in *Holborn*, all and singular Letters-patent, Proclamations, Commissions, Warrants, Records, Orders, Books, Accounts, Entries, and all other Notes and Writings whatsoever, in their Custody. Hereupon the Company appointed a Committee, consisting of Sir *Robert Killigrew*, Sir *John Davers*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Tomlyns*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Withers*, Mr. *Bland*, Mr. *Barber*, and Mr. *Berblock*, who should all, or any three of them, with the Secretary, attend the Commissioners, from time to time, with the Letters-patent, Books of Accompt, and other Writings. But they charged them, at every Rising of the Commissioners, to bring back the original Letters-patent, and to leave with them only a Copy; which, they hoped and conceived, would be sufficient. The Commissioners were likewise desired, in the Company's Name, to respite the Delivery of their Books of Account, 'till their Accomptant had taken Copies of them; when they were, together with all other Writings and Records, delivered into their Hands, and never afterwards returned to the Company.

WHILST the Company urged to the Commissioners an immediate Enquiry into the Truth of Captain *Butler's* Allegations,

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1623. legations, they, at the same time, recommended to their View and Perusal, as a thing relative to that Affair, the Declaration of the Council for *Virginia* and of the principal Assistants of the *Somer-Islands* Company, which hath been before mentioned, and which charged, in a home and open Manner, the Earl of *Warwick* and his Faction, but particularly Sir *Samuel Argall* and Captain *Butler*, with many illegal and oppressive Practices. This, I presume, gave Occasion to a Letter, which the Company soon after received from the King; wherein he utterly forbids, that any Complaints should be brought before the Commissioners against any Man, in the Name of the Council or Company, because that Course only tended to Defamation, and to raise more Contention; and because to bring Matters, determined by the Council or Company, before the Commissioners, was to preoccupate the Commissioners Judgments, or else to oppose the Act and Opinion of the Council and Company, to the Act and Opinion of the Commissioners. It was therefore his express Pleasure and Command, that whosoever would exhibit Complaints against any Man, either for publick Wrong to the Company, or for private Injuries to himself, he should bring the same in Writing, subscribed with his Name, to the Commissioners, who should receive the Answer thereto in Writing; and thereupon proceed, as they should see Cause.

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WHAT was the End or Design of such an Order is not easily conceived, I think; unless it was to prevent the Company from acting with that Unanimity and Agreement, which it plainly appeared, they would, and which, in the Eyes of all impartial Men, would give the greater Weight and Authority to their Proceedings. And where the Justice was, or Legality, of forbidding the Company to prosecute for publick Wrong to themselves, as a Body corporate, and to leave it only to private Men, who could not legally do it, without being first authorised and empowered by the Company (and then it became their Act and Deed) is to me equally mysterious and inconceivable. I am unwilling to make hard and uncharitable Interpretations; but this whole Affair of the Commissioners appears to have very little of the Face of Justice, but seems to have been set on Foot for quite different Ends and Purposes.

BUT besides this, that Letter contained another express Command; That no Man, of what Degree or Quality soever, should be admitted to their Courts or Committees, who, besides his Freedom and Land, had not some Men then, or lately before, planted upon his Shares; or that was not, at that time, actually engaged in, and accordingly

ly pursued, the sending of Men or Supplies over. And he farther ordered, if any other presumed to be present at their Meetings, that they should be proceeded against, as factious and seditious Persons. This was likewise a manifest Infringement of their Charters, which had specified the different Ways, by which Men should become free, and act as Members of the Company. Being therefore much staggered and surpris'd at both these Points, they resolv'd to hold no more Courts, 'till the King's Pleasure was farther understood. To this End, they presented a Petition to his Majesty; in Answer to which, he, in effect, took off and revers'd those two Prohibitions and Commands. After which, the Company again proceeded, as a Body corporate, in their Business before the Commissioners; and they laid before them their Reasons and Exceptions against *Sir Thomas Smith's* Accounts, together with all the other Declarations, Answers, and Writings, which had been drawn up, and so unanimously agreed to, by the Committee of the whole Company. And they still particularly insist'd upon, and strenuously press'd, the expediting Captain *Butler's* Affair, as that Business was the most urgent, and most immediately hurtful and pernicious to the Colony.

BUT what the Commissioners did, what Enquiries they enter'd upon, and what Reports they made to his Majesty, was a dead Secret to the Company; who, in a Letter to the Colony, acknowledge themselves to be entirely in the Dark, as to what was passing, or what was intended. At length, after long waiting for the Issue of their Enquiries and Determinations, Mr. Deputy *Farrar*, with some few more of the Company, were called, on the 8th of *October*, before the Lords of the Privy Council, who made some Proposals to the Deputy. But these being of a very weighty and important Nature, and Mr. *Farrar* conceiving himself to have no Power to give an Answer to them, they were, at his Request, drawn up into an Order of that Board; that so he might, under that Form, present them to the Company. This Order of Council set forth:

THAT his Majesty had taken into his princely Consideration the distressed State of the Colony of *Virginia*, occasioned, as it seem'd, by the ill Government of the Company: That this could not well be remedied, but by reducing the Government into fewer Hands, near the Number of those, that were, in the first Patent, appointed: That therein especial Provision should be made, for continuing and preserving the Interests of all Adventurers and private Persons whatsoever: That his Majesty had therefore resolv'd, by a new Charter, to appoint a Governor and twelve

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1623. Assistants, to be resident in *England*, to whom should be committed the Government of the Company and Colony: That the said Governor and Assistants should be nominated and chosen, for the first time, by his Majesty; and that their Election afterwards should be in the following Manner, viz. the Assistants should present the Names of three to his Majesty, of whom he should nominate one, to be Governor; and the Assistants themselves should be chosen, by the major Part of their own Body for the time being, the Names of those to be chosen being first presented to the King, or the Council Board, to be allowed of, or disallowed, by his Majesty; and that the Governor, and six of the Assistants, should be changed, once in two Years: That there should also be resident in *Virginia*, a Governor and twelve Assistants, to be nominated by the Governor and Assistants in *England*, they first presenting their Names to his Majesty, or the Council Board, for their Allowance or Disallowance of the same: And that, as the Governor and Assistants, resident in *Virginia*, should have Relation and Dependence on the Governor and Assistants in *England*, so the Governor and Assistants in *England*, should have Relation and Dependence upon the Council Board, that so all Matters of Importance might thereby be under his Majesty's immediate Direction at that Board: And that his Majesty further purposed, to make the like Grants, as well of Lands, as of other Franchises and Benefits, as had been granted in the former Charters; with Declaration, that for settling and establishing all private Interests, this new Company should confirm, or grant anew to all Persons, the like Interests, as they enjoyed by the Grant, Order, or Allowance of the former Company. And therefore, the Deputy and the rest were, by their Lordships, required, to assemble a Court forthwith, to resolve, whether the Company would submit, and surrender their former Charters, and be content to accept a new one, with the afore said Alterations; and they were commanded to return their Answer with all Expedition, his Majesty being determined, in Default of such Submission, to proceed for recalling their former Charters, in such Sort, as to him should seem just and meet.

THIS Order of Council so struck and amazed the Company, that, as if they distrusted their own Ears, they caused it to be read over three several times; and after that, no Man, for a long while, spoke a Word to it. However, eight of the Faction of Twenty-six, being present with Sir *Samuel Argall* at their Head, moved the Company, in Conformity to their Lordships Order, to make an immediate Surrender of their Charters; but far the major Part of the Court,

Court, to the Number of an hundred and twelve Persons, declared resolutely against it. They said, it was a Matter of such Weight and Consequence, that they thought themselves to have no Power to give an Answer to it, in that ordinary Court. For such Courts were, by their Charters, only permitted, to treat of casual and particular Occurrences of less Consequence ; but all weighty Affairs, and particularly all things relating to Government, were restrained, by the precise Words of their Letters-patent, to Quarter Courts only. Wherefore, whilst their present Patents were in Force, that ordinary Court had no Authority, to determine such a Matter as this, being of the highest and most important Nature, that had ever been propounded to them. To which it was added, that, in Obedience to their Charters, they had never taken to themselves the Liberty, to dispose of so much as a single Share of Land, but in their Quarter Court ; and they conceived themselves much more, even in Conscience, bound, not to betray their Trust, and so suddenly pass away all the Rights of themselves and the rest of their numerous Society, and of all the Planters in *Virginia* also, who were equally interested with them in their Letters-patent. They therefore besought their Lordships, that their Answer might, upon these just Grounds, be respite till the Quarter Court ; which, being the 19th of *November*, was not far off ; and against then, they should have Leisure to consider well of so weighty a Proposition. And to this End, they ordered a very large and particular Summons to be given to all the Adventurers, against that Day ; and that their Officers should give them especial Notice of the Business, then to be treated ; and desire them, in the Company's Name, not to fail to be present ; which if they did, they would be without Excuse, and would have no Manner of Pretence, to complain afterwards.

THIS Answer, however consonant to both Law and Reason, gave no Satisfaction to the Lords of the Privy Council ; who, by another Act of their Board, dated the 17th of the same Month of *October*, declared it to be merely delatory. Wherefore, as his Majesty expected a speedy Account of their Proceedings in that Business, and as it did likewise, in itself, require all Expedition, in Regard of the Importance and Consequence thereof (which, by the bye, was an odd Reason for being hasty) they ordered, and expressly charged, the Deputy and the rest, to assemble themselves again immediately, and on the *Monday* following, being the 20th of the said Month, to deliver a clear, direct, and final Answer to that, which had been before propounded, and was that Day reiterated unto them : viz. Whether

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the Company would be content, to submit and surrender their former Charters, and to accept a new one, with the Alterations, mentioned in the aforeſaid Act of Council. And the Deputy was likewise commanded, to propound the Queſtion to the Company, in thoſe clear and precise Terms, in which it was then delivered.

IN Obedience to this Order of the Privy Council, Mr. *Farrar* called an extraordinary Court; at which, by reason of the Shortness of the Warning, there were only seventy Persons present. And having proposed the Queſtion to them, in the expreſs Terms, preſcribed in the Act of Council, nine Voices only were for ſubmitting, Sir *Thomas Wroth* being added to the former eight. But all the reſt being ſtrenuously againſt the Surrendry of their Charters, an Answer was accordingly returned to their Lordſhips.

THESE Proceedings, which ſtruck plainly at the Root and Foundation of all the Rights and Franchiſes of both the Company and Colony, made a great Noiſe, and naturally gave the Alarm to all ſuch, as were any way deeply, or immediately, engaged in the Action. Some Ships therefore, which were preparing to ſail, were ſtopped, till the Iſſue and Intent of theſe Acts of Power were farther ſeen into and underſtood. But the Lords of the Council, being apprized of this ill Conſequence, made another Order of their Board, on the 20th of *October*, importing: That their Lordſhips were that Day informed, there was ſo great a Diſcouragement among many of the *Virginia* Adventurers, on Account of the intended Reformation and Change of the Government, as rendered them fearful to proſecute their Adventures; ſo that it would probably occaſion ſome Stop to thoſe Ships, which were then ready freighted, and bound to that Country. That, altho' their Lordſhips much marvelled, that any Man ſhould ſo far miſtake their Meaning, conſidering the Declarations, that had been made at that Board, *viva voce*, as alſo by an Act of Council, and otherwiſe, yet for the better ſatisfying of thoſe, who, through their own Error, or the falſe Suggeſtions of others, had conceived any ſuch Fear or Diſcouragement, they thereby again declared, that there was no other Intention, than merely and only the Reformation and Change of the preſent Government; whereof his Maſteſty had ſeen ſo many bad Effects, as would endanger the whole Plantation, if it was not corrected and amended: That nevertheleſs, for ſo much as concerned the private Intereſt of every Man, his Maſteſty's Royal Care was ſuch, that no Man ſhould receive any Prejudice in his Property, but ſhould have his Eſtate fully and wholly conſerved to him, and if any thing was found

found defective, better secured ; so that none needed to apprehend any such Fears or Inconveniencies, but contrariwise chearfully proceed. It was therefore ordered by their Lordships, and thought fit to be published to the Company, that it was his Majesty's absolute Command, that the Ships, then intended for *Virginia*, and in some Readiness to go, should be forthwith dispathced away, for the Relief of the Colony and Good of the Plantation, without any farther Hindrance or Stop.

WHAT were the Proceedings of the Commissioners all this while, I cannot tell ; nor whether his Majesty found sufficient Matter, as he thought, from their Reports, to suppress the Company, and revoke their Charters. But the better to fortify this Design, and to raise Matter of Complaint and Accusation, the Lords of the Privy Council, on the 24th of *October*, appointed *John Harvey*, Esq; (afterwards well known, as Governor of *Virginia*, by the Title of Sir *John Harvey*) *John Pory*, (formerly Secretary, and a noted Tool of the Earl of *Warwick's*) *Abraham Piersey*, *Samuel Matthews*, and *John Jefferson*, Gentlemen, to be their Commissioners, to make particular and diligent Enquiry, touching divers Matters, which concerned the State of the Colony of *Virginia*. And that they might the better perform the Orders they had received, and discharge the Trust committed to them, their Lordships strictly willed and required the Governor and Council here, to yield them their best Aid and Assistance, upon all Occasions, and in all Matters, wherein they should find Cause to make Use of the same. The three Acts of Council also, just before recited, were committed to Mr. *Pory*, and particularly the last, to be published in such Places in *Virginia*, as he should judge fit, for the Quieting and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants here. Captain *Harvey* indeed and Mr. *Pory* seem, to have been the most active, and most depended upon, in this Business ; and therefore Captain *Smith*, who had probably never seen their Commission, and knew nothing of the others, only mentions two, as sent upon this Errand. As for Mr. *Jefferson*, he never appeared in it, but seems all along a hearty Friend to the Company, and their present Constitution and Government. Besides, he was present at their Courts in *England*, at such times, as were inconsistent with his prosecuting that Commission in *Virginia*. And Captain *Matthews* expressly joins with the General Assembly, in their Opposite Representations to his Majesty, as will be hereafter related.

THINGS being laid in this Train, soon after, on the 10th of *November*, Mr. Deputy-Treasurer *Farrar*, and di-

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vers others of the Company, were served with a Proceſs of *Quo Warranto* out of the King's Bench ; to ſhew, by what Authority, they claimed to be a Body corporate, and to have and enjoy thoſe Liberties and Privileges, which they did. The Company chearfully acknowledged this to be a fair and legal Manner of proceeding ; and they deſired the Defendants, to take eſpecial Care of the Buſineſs, as being the Company's Cauſe, altho' proſecuted in particular Names ; and as their Charter was called in Queſtion by it, which, they conceived, was therefore to be pleaded. As for the Charge of this Suit (which, it was judged, would be very great) it was agreed, that it ſhould be borne by the Company's general Stock. Wherefore it was unanimouſly ordered, that whatever Diſburſements ſhould be made by the Defendants, or others, in the Proceſs of the Suit (provided, it were for the Company's Cauſe and Defence, and not for Matters, that in the Iſſue would fall upon particular Perſons, or their Actions) they ſhould all be duly repaid, and made good by the Company. But the entertaining Counſel and Attornies was wholly left and entruſted to the Choice and Care of the Defendants.

BUT for this Cauſe, ſince another Courſe had been taken to bring the Buſineſs to a legal Trial, by the Attorney General's proſecuting a *Quo Warranto* againſt the Company, they reſuſed, at their Quarter Court on the 19th of *November*, to enter into any Conſideration about the Matter. But that Court, with a general Unanimity, (ſeven only diſſenting) ſolemnly ratified and confirmed all the Proceedings of the former Courts, which had reſuſed to ſurrender up their Charters. And for the better Management of ſo weighty an Affair, which would require often and ſerious Conſultation, a Grand Committee was appointed, to direct all Matters appertaining thereto ; and the Deputy had Authority given him, at all times to call them together, or ſuch a Part of them, as he ſhould think proper. And that the Company might be the better enabled to prepare their Proofs, and make good their Defence, a Petition was ordered to be delivered to the Lords of the Privy Council, for reſtoring their Books and Writings ; which had now, for ſome time, been in theirs and the Commiſſioners Hands. But Mr. *Bing* ſaid, let them make as many Petitions as they pleaſe, they ſhould as ſoon have an Halter, as have their Writings ; which gave ſuch univerſal and juſt Offence, that Complaint was made thereof to the Lords of the Council. But I do not find, that any Right was done them, for ſo atrocious an Inſult and Affront on the Court, or that they ever afterwards recovered their Records.

BUT

BUT soon after, on the 8th of *December*, the more to perplex and discourage the Company, and to oppress those private Members, who were Defendants in this Suit, Alderman *Johnson*, with others of his Faction, presented a Petition to the Lords of the Privy Council, signifying; That they had always been, and still were ready, according to his Majesty's express Will and Pleasure, to render up their Charters to his Majesty's Disposal: But forasmuch as Mr. *Nicholas Farrar*, and some others, withstood the Surrendry, and the better to free themselves from the Charge of the Suit, and to enable them to oppose his Majesty, they had lately made an Order of their Court, that the Expence of defending that Cause should be borne by the Company's publick Stock; they therefore humbly prayed, that it might be ordered by their Lordships, that the Charge of those Suits should be borne by the Defendants themselves, and no Part by the Company's publick Stock, nor by the Goods of any of the Adventurers or Planters, that shewed themselves conformable to his Majesty's Pleasure. And they further besought their Lordships, to order, for better Assurance in this Point, that all such Goods, as should thereafter be imported for the General Company, should be sequestered in the Custom House, till their Lordships farther Order, for disposing thereof to the Use and Benefit of the Plantation.

THIS last Clause was purposely aimed and designed, to deprive the Deputy and his Brother, with some others, (to whom the Company had made over all such Goods, as Security for considerable Sums of Money, now due to them) of ever having it in their Power, to get their said Debts. Their Lordships therefore, being apprised of this, would not concur with the Alderman in a Design, so plainly fraudulent and iniquitous. However, they made an Order of their Board, that all they, who were questioned by the *Quo Warranto*, should make their Defence, at their own private Charge, without any Help or Expence from the publick Stock; and that such, as were willing to surrender their Charters, should be discharged from all Contribution towards the Expence of the said Suit, both in their Persons and Estates. And this perhaps will be thought sufficiently hard and oppressive. But however, considering the noble Fortunes and generous Dispositions of the Earl of *Southampton* and many others of the Company, who entirely agreed to, and abetted the Proceedings of the Courts and Deputy, the Expence was, in all Probability, made very easy, and did not fall upon the Defendants so heavily, as was hereby designed. And I cannot here forbear re-

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marking the Generosity and publick Spirit of the Deputy, and other Merchants and Citizens. For the Noblemen, and other Gentlemen of capital Fortune and Figure, were not returned out of the Country, when the *Quo Warranto* was issued; so that it was served entirely upon Merchants and Citizens, who nevertheless bravely undertook the Defence of the Company, at the Risk of their own Fortunes. And this was the more meritorious then, as the Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Subject, were not so well limited and understood at that time, as they now are; but the little Finger of Regal Power was supposed too heavy, for the Loins of any private Man to bear. To which may be added, that Acts of Power, at that Juncture, ran very high, and were plainly attempted to be carried still higher; and the Deputy and Company had no Reason to expect any Favour, but had found from manifold Experience, that all Advantages, even beyond what was strictly fair and legal, would be taken against them.

IT will also doubtless seem strange to many Persons, that the Privy Council should assume to themselves such a Judicature, as thus arbitrarily to dispose of Men's Fortunes, and load a few private Persons with the Expence of defending the publick Cause of the Company, even against the Company's Will and Desire. But to clear this Point, it must be known, that the Privy Council of that time assumed a most extraordinary Power and Jurisdiction, and were plainly drawing into their Hands all the Parts of Government; or perhaps to speak more properly, the King, through them, was endeavouring to draw them into his own Hands. And this, as I take it, was the Occasion of a great and very dangerous Error in the Constitution of this Colony. For as our Council was settled and constituted at the Time, that the Privy Council's Authority was strained to such a Height, there was perhaps too great a Power assigned to them. I speak freely, and I hope, without Offence; for what I mean, is simply this. Our Council act in a double Capacity: First, as his Majesty's Council of State, from which all Acts of Power and Government issue; and secondly, as the supreme Judicature of the Colony, and the last Interpreters of Law. Now, if the Council should exert any Act of Power against a Man, and he should appeal from it, the Cause must be brought before the same Persons again in the General Court, who would be naturally led to support their own Act. But in *England*, the Case is quite different. For should the Privy Council exercise any Act of Power upon the Subject there, he may appeal from them, to the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*; where

where the Cause must be determined by the Law, which is always impartial and unbiassed. So that all Acts of Power there, are exposed to an immediate and severe Check from the Law. And indeed this is the great Beauty and Strength of all free Constitutions of Government, to have all their Parts, but most especially the highest and most dangerous to Liberty, continually under the Check and Coercion of the Law. But if we consider the many Infirmities of human Nature and Contingencies of human Governments, the Charms and Allurements of Ambition and the strange grasping and insatiable Nature of Power, the natural Pride and Peremptoriness of Men in Authority, their false Shame of owning themselves in the Wrong, and Proneness to defend and persist in their Errors, together with the natural and perpetual Contest between Liberty and Power, this must, I think, be acknowledged, to be a very great and material Defect in our Constitution. It is true, there are not perhaps any great Inconveniences felt from this at present, at least that I know of; which I speak not, with Intent to flatter our present Government or Governors: For I flatter no Man. But however, altho' the Sword did not actually fall upon the *Sicilian* Sycophant, yet no Person, I believe, would chuse to be in his Situation, and have a Sword perpetually hanging over his Head by a Hair. Whoever therefore should contrive and effect an Alteration in this dangerous Point, he should have my Suffrage for a Statue, or any other, the most honourable, or most beneficial Reward, for so signal a Service to the Country. But to return from this Digression.

BESIDES the Petition, formerly recited, Alderman *Johnson*, being much galled by the Company's home Answers and Exposure of his and Sir *Thomas Smith's* Conduct, drew up another Writing, under the Title of; *A Declaration of the prosperous Estate of the Colony, during Sir Thomas Smith's Time of Government*. In this, subscribed by himself, Sir *Samuel Argall*, and Mr. *Wrote*, he said: That notwithstanding the many disastrous Accidents, to which Enterprises of that Nature, especially in their Infancy, are subject, yet it pleased God, so to bless their Labours and Endeavours, who were then employed, that in the first twelve Years, during all which Time Sir *Thomas Smith* was Treasurer and Governor of the Company, with the Expence of seventy thousand Pounds, or thereabouts, brought in for the most part by voluntary Adventurers, being a great many of them Sir *Thomas's* near Friends and Relations, and for his Sake joining in the Business, and with the Help and Use of a very few of his Majesty's Sub-

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 jects, and those mostly People of the meanest Rank, a large and very spacious Part of the Country was fully discovered; the Coasts, Havens, Ports, Creeks, and Rivers thereof perfectly known; the most commodious Places of Strength, and for Conveniency of Habitation, selected and made Choice of; those Places partly recovered, or procured from the Savages, and partly with infinite Labour, being generally overspread with Wood, cleared, enclosed, and cultivated; many Houses, Barns, and Forts built; Churches, Bridges, and Storehouses, with all other publick and necessary Works, erected; not less, as he judges, than a thousand *English*, when Sir *Thomas Smith* left the Government, being there inhabiting, with Plenty of Corn, Cattle, Swine, Poultry, and other good Provisions, to feed and nourish them: That there was a competent Number of able and sufficient Ministers, to instruct them; worthy and expert Commanders, Captains, and Officers, to direct and govern them; and Store of Arms and Ammunition, to defend them: That divers Staple Commodities, besides Tobacco, were found out, at the present to encourage, and in process of time to enrich them; Barks, Pinnaces, Shallops, Barges, and Boats, built in the Country, the better to accommodate and secure them: That the Natives were in so awful a League and Amity with them, that many of those Heathens voluntarily yielded themselves Subjects and Servants to our most gracious Sovereign; and priding themselves in that Title, paid, together with most of the rest, a Yearly Contribution of Corn, for Sustentation of the Colony; and they were kept in such good Respect and Correspondency, that they became mutually helpful and profitable, each to other: That to this Growth of Perfection was that Plantation advanced, even in the first twelve Years; the Affairs thereof being, with great Unanimity, Moderation, Integrity, and Judgment, chiefly directed by Sir *Thomas Smith*; and the Accompts of Monies, received and disbursed, being audited upon Oath, by Men of Credit and Reputation, without all Exception.

THE Commissioners were still sitting; and the Company, being wearied with long waiting for the Issue of their Labours, appointed their Grand Committee, to press them to make some Report to the Lords of the Council, what they had done in the several Affairs, brought before them by the Company and their Opponents. For they said, they greatly depended, that the Fairness and Uprightness of their Proceedings would be thence manifested to all the World. And they were likewise entreated, to require Sir *Thomas Smith*, either to shew sufficient Cause, why

why he should not pay the eight hundred Pounds, found against him on the first two Heads of Exception against his Accounts; or else, that he might be compelled to pay the same, as the Company was now in great Want of Money. But I cannot discover, that the Commissioners, who were, properly speaking, a Committee of Secrecy, ever did any thing in either of these Points.

WHILST Things were in this Posture in *England*, the Colony in *Virginia* had recovered a tolerably easy and comfortable State of their Affairs. Their Health, which had been much affected by the Famine, and by the Hardships and Inconveniences, they underwent by being driven from their Habitations, was now well restored; and the Famine itself entirely relieved by a plentiful Crop of Corn. Having likewise, by pretending Peace and Friendship, come to the Knowledge of the *Indians* principal Places of Residence, they had cut up and destroyed their Corn, when it was too late for them to have another Crop; and by a successful Attack, they had slain a great Number of them, among whom were some of their Kings, and several of their greatest War-Captains and Commanders; of which *Opechancanough* was hoped to be one. For the Stratagem was chiefly aimed at him, and things, as they thought, so well laid, that he could scarce possibly escape the Snare. The Governor, also went himself, this Year, in Person into *Patowmack* River, and took a full Revenge upon the *Pasquotons*, who had slain Captain *Spilman*; putting many to the Sword, and burning their Houses, with a prodigious Quantity of Corn, which they had conveyed into the Woods, and the *English* were not able to bring to their Boats. And he issued Commissions to Captain *William Pierce*, Captain of his Guard and Lieutenant-Governor of *James-City*, to go against the *Chickahominies*; to Captain *Nathaniel West*, to go against the *Appamatocks* and the *Taux-Wyanokes*; to Captain *Samuel Matthews*, against the *Taux-Powhatans*; and to Captain *William Tucker*, Commander of *Kicquotan* and those lower Parts of the Country, to go against the *Nandsamonds* and *Warraqueakes*; all which Parties fell upon them the very same Day, the 23d of *July*, with vast Spoil to their Corn and Habitations, and no small Slaughter. And a Week after, Captain *Maddison* marched against the great *Wyanokes*, and Captain *Tucker* made a second Expedition to *Nandsamond*.

BUT in the Midst of these Tumults and Alarms, the Muses were not silent. For at this time, Mr. *George Sandys*, the Company's Treasurer of *Virginia*, made his Translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, a very laudable Performance

1623. for the Times. In his Dedication of that Piece to King Charles I. he tells him, that it was limned by that imperfect Light, which was snatched from the Hours of Night and Repose. For the Day was not his own, but dedicated to the Service of his Father and himself; and had that Service proved as fortunate, as it was faithful, in him, as well as others more worthy, they had hoped, before the Revolution of many Years, to have presented his Majesty with a rich and well-peopled Kingdom. But as things had turned, he had only been able to bring from thence himself and that Composition, which needed more than a single Denization. For it was doubly a Stranger, being sprung from an ancient *Roman* Stock, and bred up in the new World, of the Rudeness whereof it could not but participate; especially as it was produced among Wars and Tumults; instead of under the kindly and peaceful Influences of the Muses.

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1624. THE Beginning of the next Year 1624, Captain *Harvey* and Mr. *Pory* arrived, as Commissioners from the Privy Council; and the 26th of *January*, Warrants were issued for summoning a General Assembly. However this Assembly was not called, at the Commissioners Motion or Request. For they kept their Commission secret from the Colony, and did every thing, they could, to conceal their Powers and Designs. The King also and the Privy Council had, the last Year, given very strict and menacing Orders to the Company, and to all private Adventurers, to write nothing to *Virginia*, concerning the Differences, then subsisting among them; because, as they said, it would give great Discouragement to the Planters, and bring Prejudice to the Colony. To this End, the Privy Council had often perused, and angrily returned, the Company's general Letters, before they could be formed entirely to their Liking; and they had taken all Methods, to intercept and prevent any Accounts going from private Hands. But notwithstanding these Precautions, the Colony was, by this time, well informed, of what had passed in *England*; and Copies of the several Writings had been sent over to them especially of Alderman *Johnson's* Declaration of the prosperous Estate of the Colony, during Sir *Thomas Smith's* Government, and of Captain *Butler's* Information to his Majesty. For those Papers related more particularly to them, as being upon the Spot, and therefore the best Judges of the Truth or Falshood of the several Matters, therein alledged. Wherefore, when the General Assembly met, which was the 14th of *February*, the first thing, they entered upon, was the Consideration of those two Pieces; and by the 20th
of

of the same Month, they had drawn up Answers to them. Their Answer to the Alderman's Declaration set forth :

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THAT holding it a Sin against God and their own Sufferings, to permit the World to be abused with false Reports, and to give to Vice the Reward of Virtue, They, in the Name of the whole Colony of *Virginia*, in their General Assembly met, many of them having been Eye-witnesses and Sufferers in those Times, had framed, out of their Duty to the Country, and Love to Truth, the following Answer to the Praises given to Sir *Thomas Smith's* Government, in the said Declaration.

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THEY averred, that, in those twelve Years of Sir *Thomas Smith's* Government, the Colony for the most part, remained in great Want and Misery, under most severe and cruel Laws, which were sent over in Print, and were contrary to the express Letter of the King's most gracious Charters, and as mercilessly executed here, oftentimes without Trial or Judgment: That the Allowance for a Man, in those Times, was only eight Ounces of Meal and half a Pint of Pease a Day, both the one and the other being moldy, rotten, full of Cobwebbs and Maggots, loathsome to Man, and not fit for Beasts; which forced many to fly to the Savage Enemy for Relief, who, being again taken, were put to sundry Kinds of Death, by hanging, shooting, breaking upon the Wheel, and the like: That others were forced, by Famine, to filch for their Bellies; of whom one, for stealing two or three Pints of Oatmeal, had a Bodkin thrust through his Tongue, and was chained to a Tree, till he starved: That if a Man, through Sickness, had not been able to work, he had no Allowance at all, and so consequently perished: That many through these Extremities, dug Holes in the Earth, and there hid themselves, till they famished: That they could not, for those their Miseries, blame their Commanders here; for their Sustenance was to come from *England*, and had they given them better Allowance, they must have perished in general: That their Scarcity sometimes was so lamentable, that they were constrained to eat Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Toadstools, Horse-hides, and what not? That one Man, out of the Misery he endured, killed his Wife, and powdered her up to eat; for which he was burnt: That many others fed on the Corpses of dead Men; and that one, who, through Custom, had got an insatiable Appetite to that Food, could not be restrained, till he was executed for it: And that, indeed, so miserable was their State, that the happiest Day, many ever hoped to see, was, when the *Indians* had killed a Mare; the People wishing, as she was boiling,

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ing, that Sir *Thomas Smith* was upon her Back in the Kettle.

AND whereas it was affirmed, that very few of his Majesty's Subjects were lost in those Days, and those Persons of the meanest Rank, they replied; that for one, that then died, five had perished in Sir *Thomas Smith's* Times, many being of ancient Houses, and born to Estates of a thousand Pounds a Year, some more, some less, who likewise perished by Famine: That those, who survived, and had in Ventures both their Estates and Persons, were constrained to serve the Colony seven or eight Years for their Freedom, and underwent as hard and as servile Labour, as the basest Fellow, that was brought out of *Newgate*: As for Discovery, they owned, that much had been discovered in those twelve Years, but in the four or five last Years, much more than formerly: That the Houses and Churches, then built, were so mean and poor by reason of these Calamities, that they could not stand above one or two Years; the People going to work indeed, but out of the Bitterness of their Spirits, breathing execrable Curses upon Sir *Thomas Smith*; neither could a Blessing from God be hoped for in those Buildings, which were founded upon the Blood of so many *Christians*: That the Towns were only *James-City*, *Henrico*, *Charles Hundred*, *West* and *Shirley Hundred*, and *Kicquotan*; all which were ruined in those Times, except ten or twelve Houses in *James-Town*: That at that Present, there were four for every one then, and forty times exceeding them in Goodness: That Fortifications there were none against a foreign Enemy, and those against the domestick Foe very few and contemptible: That there was only one Bridge, which also decayed in that time: That if, through the afore said Calamities, many had not perished, there would doubtless have been largely above a thousand People in the Country, when Sir *Thomas Smith* left the Government; but they conceived, when Sir *George Yeardley* arrived Governor, he found not above four hundred, most of them in Want of Corn, and utterly destitute of Cattle, Swine, Poultry, and other necessary Provisions to nourish them: That there were some Ministers to instruct the People, whose Ability they would not tax, but divers of them had no Orders: That they were never over furnished with Arms, Powder and Ammunition; yet that in Quality almost entirely useless: They acknowledge, that in those times a Trial was made of divers Staple Commodities, which they had not Means to proceed in; but they hoped, in time a better Progress would be made therein, and had it not been for the Massacre, many by that time

time would have been brought to Perfection : That for Boats, there was only one serviceable one left in the Colony, at the End of that Government ; for which one, besides four or five Ships and Barks, there were not then so few as forty : That the Barks and Barges, then built, were in Number so few, and so unwillingly and weakly by the People effected, that in the same time they perished : That they never knew, that the Natives did voluntarily yield themselves Subjects to the King, took any Pride in that Title, or paid any Contribution of Corn towards the Support of the Colony ; neither could they, at any time, keep them in such good Correspondency, as to become mutually helpful to each other ; but contrariwise, whatever was done, proceeded from Fear, and not Love, and their Corn was got by Trade or the Sword.

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AND now, to what a Growth of Perfection the Colony could arrive at the End of those twelve Years, they left to be judged, by what had been said ; and they besought his Majesty, rather than be reduced to live under the like Government again, that he would send Commissioners over to hang them. As to Alderman *Johnson*, one of the Authors of that Declaration, they said, he had great Reason to commend Sir *Thomas Smith*, to whose Offences and Infamy he was so inseparably linked. And all this they affirmed to be true by the general Report of the Country, which they never heard contradicted ; many of them also having been Eye-Witnesses, or else resident in the Country, when every Particular here reported, happened.

THIS Declaration was signed by Sir *Francis Wyat*, the Governor ; by *George Sandys*, *John Pot*, *John Pountis*, *Roger Smith*, and *Ralph Hamer*, Esqrs. of the Council ; and by *William Tucker*, *William Pierce*, *Ralegh Crosshaw*, *Samuel Matthews*, *Jabez Whitaker*, and others, to the Number of twenty four, of the House of Burgeses. And this, I judge (or the Number of twenty five, which subscribed the Answer to Captain *Butler's* Information) was nearly about the full Number of the House of Burgeses at that time. For there were, three Years before, eleven Boroughs which had Right to send Members to the Assembly ; and there might be, and undoubtedly were, a few others since added to them. Their Answer to Captain *Butler's* Information, ran in the following Manner.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WHEREAS a Copy of an Information, presented to Your Majesty by Captain Nathaniel Butler, entitled, *The Unmasking of Virginia*, is come to our Hands ;
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and whereas the same is full of notorious Slanders and Falshoods, proceeding from the Malice of his corrupt Heart, and abetted by private Enmity and publick Division, which aim at the Satisfaction of their particular Spleen, altho' it be to the Subversion of this whole Colony; Wee, the Governor, Council, and Colony of Virginia, in our General Assembly, out of Zeal and Respect to Your Majesty and this our Country, not to suffer Your sacred Ears to be prophaned with false Suggestions, nor Your Royal Thoughts to be diverted from so hopeful a Plantation, which may add in time a principal Flower to Your Diadem, do, in all Humbleness, submit this our Answer to Your Princely Survey, annexed to the several Untruths of the said Informer.

1. I found the Plantations generally seated, &c. *

THE Plantations, for the most Part, are high and pleasantly seated; and the rest not low, nor infested with Marshes, which, we wish, were more frequent. The Creeks are rather useful, than noisome; and no Bogs have been seen here by any, that have lived twice as many Years, as he did Weeks, in the Country; the Places which he so miscalls, being the richest Parts of the Earth, if we had a sufficient Force to clear their Woods, and to give the fresh Springs, which run through them, a free Passage. The Soil is generally rich, and restores our Trust with Abundance; the Air is sweet, and the Clime healthful, all Circumstances considered, to Men of sound Bodies and good Government.

2. I found the Shores, &c.

IN this he traduceth one of the goodliest Rivers in the habitable World, which runs for many Miles together within upright Banks, till at length, enlarged with the Receipt of others, it beats on a sandy Shore, and imitates the Sea in Greatness and Majesty. It is approachable on both Sides, from half Flood to half Ebb, for Boats of good Burthen; neither is there any River in the World of this Vastness, without Cranes or Wharfs, more commodious for landing. And it is equally contrary to Truth, that by wading we get violent Surfeits of Cold, which never leave us, till we are brought to our Graves.

3. THE new People, sent over, arriving for the most Part, &c.

WE affirm, that the Winter is the only proper time for the Arrival of new Comers; whereof the Governor and Council have often, by their Letters, informed the Com-

* Vide Captain Butler's Information, p. 268.

pany; and the like Advice has been given to their Correspondents, from time to time, by private Planters, for their Supply of Servants. As to Houses of Entertainment, there was a general Subscription, amounting to an unexpected Sum, and Workmen actually employed, to build a fair Inn in *James City*, and every principal Plantation had resolved on the like, for the Entertainment of their new Supplies; when it pleased God, to punish our Crimes by the bloody Hands of the *Indians*, which obliged us to divert that Care to the Housing ourselves, many of us having been unfurnished by that Disaster. But Buildings of late have every where encreased exceedingly; neither have new Comers any Reason to complain, when every Man's House is, without Recompence, open to the Stranger, even to the disaccommodating ourselves. So that we may with Modesty boast, that no People in the World do exercise the like Hospitality. As for dying under Hedges (whereof there are none in *Virginia*) or lying unburied in the Woods, by reason of this Defect, it is utterly false. However, if such things should sometimes be seen accidentally here, the like may, and often doth happen, in the most flourishing Countries of *Europe*.

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4. THE Colony was, this Winter, in great Distress, &c. THE Colony, that Winter, was in no Distress of Victual, as the Accuser well knoweth. For he bought Corn himself for eight Shillings a Bushel, cheaper, as we hear, than it was then sold in *England*. It is true, a succeeding Scarcity was feared. But what less could be expected, after such a Massacre; when near half the Colony were driven from their Habitations in time of planting, others streightened in their Ground by receiving them, and all interrupted in their Business by supporting a sudden War? *English* Meal sold, as he affirmeth, at thirty Shillings the Bushel, was only sold for ten Pounds of Tobacco; for which, in truck, we ordinarily receive under twelve Pence a Pound, real Value. And it is not to be supposed, that any of the Great should affect Scarcity, in order to enrich themselves by Trade. For Trade hath ever been free for us all; neither have they, who have brought in most Corn, sold it out at unconscionable Rates, but have often freely imparted it to the Necessity of others, without any other Advantage than Repayment. We agree with that Prime-one, who wished, that Corn might never be under eight Shillings a Bushel; meaning in Tobacco at three Shillings a Pound. For so there would be some Proportion between the Profit of making the one and the other, and Corn would thereby be planted in greater Abundance.

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5. THEIR Houses are generally the worst, &c.

OUR Houses, for the most Part, are rather built for Use than Ornament; yet not a few for both, and fit to give Entertainment to Men of good Quality. If we may give Credit to those, who are accounted the most faithful Relaters of the *West-Indies*, many Cities of great Rumour there, after threescore Years Progress, are not to be compared in their Buildings to ours. And so far are they from the meanest Cottages in *England*, that many Towns there have hardly one House in them, which exceedeth ours in Conveniency or Structure. The greatest Disparagement, that some of them received, proceeded from his Riots and lascivious Filthiness with lewd Women, purchased with Rials of Eight and Wedges of Gold, the Spoils of the distressed *Spaniards* in *Bermudas*; which, as we are informed by a Gentleman of good Credit, who casually surveyed his Inventory, did, with other Treasure, amount to divers Thousands. As for the Interposition of Creeks, which Men are most desirous to seat upon, where we cannot go by Land, we have Boats and Canoes, for our sudden Transport on any Occasion.

6. I found not the least Piece of Fortification, &c.

WE have, as yet, no Fortifications against a foreign Enemy, altho' it hath been endeavoured by the Company, with a Success unanswerable to their Care and Expence; as also lately by ourselves. But the Work, being interrupted by the Scarcity of last Summer, shall proceed again, God willing, with all convenient Expedition; and almost all our Houses are sufficiently fortified against the *Indians*, with strong Palisadoes. His Envy would not let him number truly the Ordinance at *James City*; four Demi-Culverins being there mounted, and all serviceable. At *Flower-de-Hundred*, he makes but one of six; neither was he ever there, but, according to his Custom, reporteth the unseen as seen. The same Envy would not let him see the three Pieces at *Newport's-News*, and those two at *Elisabeth-City*. Two great Pieces there are at *Charles Hundred*, and seven at *Henrico*. Besides which, several private Planters have since furnished themselves with Ordinance. So that it were a desperate Enterprize, and unlikely to be attempted by a Man of his Spirit, to beat down our Houses about our Ears, with a Bark of that Burthen.

7. EXPECTING, according to their printed Books, &c.

THE time that this Informer came over, was in the Winter, after the Massacre; when those Wounds were green, and the Earth deprived of her Beauty. His Ears were open to nothing but Detraction, and he only enquired
after

after the Factious, of which there were none among us, and how he might gather Accusations against those in the Government, being, as it should seem, sent over for that Purpose. Otherwise he could not but hear of our Proclamations for the Advancement of Staple Commodities, and with what Alacrity and Success they proceeded; Vines and Mulberry Trees being planted throughout the whole Country, the Iron-Works in great Forwardness and shortly to receive Perfection; and the Glass-Works laboured after with all possible Care, till the Slaughter by the *Indians*, and the succeeding Mortality, gave a Ruin to some, and Interruption to all. So that he hath nothing but our Misfortunes to accuse and upbraid us with; which have obliged us, still to follow that contemptible Weed, as well to sustain the War, as to enable us again to erect those Works. As for deriding the Books, that were sent over by the Company, it was done by himself, and no other, that we know of.

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8. I found the ancient Plantations of *Henrico*, &c.

STILL he abuseth your Majesty with these Words, *I found*, in Places, where he never was by some Score of Miles; having never been higher up the River, than the Territories of *James City*. *Henrico* was quitted in Sir *Thomas Smith's* Time, only the Church and one House remaining. *Charles City*, so much spoken of, never had but six Houses. The Soil of both is barren, worn out, and not fit for Culture. The Loss of our Stocks the Informer hath less Reason to urge. For he joined with the *Indians* in killing our Cattle, and carried the Beef aboard his Ship; which would have cost him his Life, if he had had his Deserts.

9. WHEREAS according to his Majesty's gracious, &c.

THE Governor and Council, whom it only concerned, replied to this; that they had followed the Laws and Customs of *England* to their utmost Skill; neither could he, or any other, produce any Particular, wherein they had failed. As to their Ignorance, they held him to be no competent Judge of those, who so far transcended him in Point of Learning and Ability. For he had never been bred to the Law (as was not unknown to some of them) nor yet in any other of the liberal Sciences. But his principal Spleen in this Article, appeared to proceed from his not being admitted of the Council, which they could by no means, consistently with their Instructions, do.

10. THERE having been, as it is thought, ten thousand, &c.

HIS Computation of ten thousand Souls falleth short of four thousand; and those were, in great part, wasted by

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Sir Francis
Wyat, Go-
vernor.

THIS Answer was subscribed by the same Persons as the former; only with the Addition of the Honourable *Francis West*, Brother to the late, and Uncle to the then Lord *Delawarr*, and Sir *George Yeardley*, of the Council, and of one more Member of the House of Burgessees. Mr. *John Pountis* also, one of the Council of State, was appointed to go to *England*, to sollicite the general Cause of the Colony (for so they call it); and four Pounds of Tobacco was levied upon every Male Tithable, that had been a Year in the Country, to support his Expences. But this Gentleman, in his Voyage home, died upon the Coast of *England*; and was therefore able to do nothing in the Affair. But to these, the General Assembly added two other Writings; the one a Petition to the King, and the other a Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council.

IN their Petition to the King, they declared their great Joy and Satisfaction, that his Majesty, notwithstanding the late unjust Disparagement of this Plantation, had taken it into his nearer and more especial Care. And that his Royal Intentions might have their due Effect, they humbly besought him, being urged thereto by their Duty and Experience, to give no Credit to the late Declarations of the happy, as it was called, but in Truth, miserable Estate of the Colony, during the first twelve Years, nor to the malicious Imputations, which had been laid on the Government of late; but that he would be pleased to behold, in
Miniature.

Miniature, the true Estate of both Times by their Relations, which they then presented by the Hands of Mr. *John Pountis*, a worthy Member of their Body; and which contained nothing but the Truth, without Disaffection or Partiality. From these they doubted not, but that his Majesty would clearly understand the true Condition of both Times; and would be pleased, according to their earnest Desire, to continue, and even farther confirm, the Government, under which they then lived. But if it should please him otherwise to determine, they besought him, by all the Ties of Compassion and Humanity, not to suffer them, his poor Subjects, to fall again into the Hands of Sir *Thomas Smith*, or his Confidants; but that he would graciously protect them from those Storms of Faction, which threatened the Ruin of some Persons (whose Endeavours had deserved a better Reward) and in general the Subversion of the whole Colony. And if the Government must be altered, they desired, since the Action was of such Honour and Consequence, that they might still depend upon such great and noble Persons, as they lately had done. And farther, in Consideration of the late Massacre and subsequent Calamities, they besought his Majesty, to grant them and the *Somer-Islands* the sole Importation of Tobacco; assuring him, that they affected not that contemptible Weed, as a thing good and desirable in itself, but as a present Means of Support. And if it should please his Majesty, to send over that Aid of Soldiers, whereof they had been put in Hopes, or any other Assistance, they humbly desired, that the Governor and General Assembly might have a Voice in their Disposall; since none at that Distance, by reason of Accidents and emergent Occasions, could direct such an Affair so advantageously, as they were enabled to do, by their Presence and Experience in the Country.

IN their Letter to the Privy Council, they acknowledged the Receipt of several of theirs, and returned their Thanks to his Majesty for his princely Care of the Colony; particularly for remitting three Pence a Pound in the Custom of Tobacco, and for his gracious Intention to grant them a sole Importation, than which nothing could give greater Life, or a more speedy Advancement, to the Colony. For little or nothing could be expected from Poverty, to which the mean Prices of Tobacco, and great Expence of the War against the *Indians*, had reduced them. Neither had they, in their present State, the Means to fortify themselves, or to set up Staple Commodities, which would require a long Expectation of Profit; the Fruit of their Labours at present amounting to no more, if so much, as

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1624. would barely feed and cloath them. They therefore humbly entreated their Lordships, to be a Means to his Majesty to confirm his gracious Intention; and to take into their Consideration the heavy Burthen, of paying for Custom above a Third of their Labour; which, they desired, might be reduced to five *per Cent.* according to the express Tenor of their original Charters.

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Wyat, Governor.

THEY further told their Lordships, that they understood by their Letters, that they had been accused by one, who went from hence, of Neglect in Fortifications, in building Houses, and in providing themselves Sustenance; but they protested against his Relation, which was, as in other things, so in this, most false and slanderous. They had, in due Submission, published their Orders, sent over by Mr. Pory; by which they understood his Majesty's Intention, to change the Government. They professed themselves ignorant of the Dangers and Ruin, that threatened them from the Government, as it then stood; and declared, they had nothing to accuse those Gentlemen of, who had swayed their Affairs, since the Expiration of Sir Thomas Smith's Authority; their Slavery having since been converted into Freedom, and the Colony cherished under a just and moderate Government. Neither would they have been subject to Censure, had not the bitter Effects of the Massacre clouded the Company's Zeal and their Endeavours.

BUT however it might please his Majesty to dispose of them, it was their humble Desire, that the Governors, sent over, might not have absolute Authority, but might be restrained to the Consent of the Council; which Title, they desired, might still be retained to the Honour of the Colony, and not converted to the Name of Assistants, as was proposed in an Order of their Board. They said, they had found some Inconveniencies, by the strict Limitations of the Governor and Council, to proceed according to their Instructions out of *England*. For in so far a Distance, and imperfect Knowledge of the Country, those things might seem good in Advice, which might happen to prove very inconvenient in Execution; neither was it fit, that any main Project should be set on Foot, which had not first Approbation from hence. They conceived, the present short Continuance of Governors to be very disadvantageous to the Colony. The first Year, they were raw and unexperienced in the Country, and for the most part in ill Disposition of Health, through the Change of Climate; the second, they began to understand something of the Affairs of the Colony; and the third, they were providing to return. But above all, they made it their most humble Request to their Lordships,

Lordships, that they might still retain the Liberty of their General Assemblies ; than which nothing could more conduce, to the publick Satisfaction, and publick Utility.

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THESE two were signed by almost the same Persons as the former ; and I cannot but observe, to the immortal Honour of Sir *Francis Wyat*, that he was so far from desiring the Tyranny of an absolute Authority, that he was most strenuous and active, and joined very cordially in all these Petitions and Representations, for restraining the exorbitant Power of Governors. All these things were carried, in the Assembly, with the utmost Unanimity and Dispatch ; and they were kept secret from the Commissioners, whom they found to be in other Interests, and to have quite different Views from themselves. For, having at first promised to communicate all their Representations and Papers to the Governor and Assembly, expecting the like Favour from them, they afterwards stood off, and indeed absolutely refused to let them know any thing they were doing ; under Pretence, that the Lords of the Privy Council ought to have the first View of what they intended to present. Whereupon the Governor and Assembly, suspecting some sinister Designs, endeavoured to conceal from the Commissioners what was passing among them. But Mr. *Pory*, a Tool of Power, and versed in Corruption, by the Promise of a Reward, obtained Copies of all these Writings from *Edward Sharples*, Clerk of the Council ; and altho' Captain *Harvey* had no Hand in corrupting him, he afterwards promised him fifty Pounds of Tobacco, in Reward of his Treachery. This *Sharples* had been entertained, by the late Mr. Secretary *Davidson*, as a Writer in his Office ; and after the Secretary's Death, which happened towards the last of the former Year, he was admitted, far above his Condition and Desert, Clerk of the Council, and took an Oath (a Copy whereof is still extant in our Records) to deliver no Copies of any Papers or Writings, without the Governor's Leave. Wherefore I find, at a Court held the 10th of *May* following, as it appeared by sufficient Evidence, and by his own Confession, that he, being sworn Clerk of the Council of State, had betrayed their Councils to the Commissioners, he was sentenced to stand in the Pillory, and there to have his Ears nailed to it, and cut off. However, he was only just set on the Pillory, and lost a Piece of one of his Ears. A Letter was also sent by the Governor and Council to the Company, to inform them of his Crime and his Punishment ; and to complain of Mr. *Pory's* Subornation of him, that they, understanding his double Dealing, might thence be upon their Guard, and prevent his corrupt Practices. But

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BUT the Commissioners, finding, that things were going in the Assembly quite contrary to their Hopes and Desires, resolved to lay some of their Powers before them, which might probably intimidate and influence them, and restrain them from proceeding with so much Sharpness and Vigor. They therefore opened some Part of their Commission to the Assembly, on the 24th of *February*. A Week after, they wrote them a Letter, importing: That they supposed, in a Week's Time, since their publishing the Orders of the Lords of the Privy Council, the Assembly could not but have maturely considered the same: That therefore, for the speedier Advancement of the Colony in general, and for the securing every Man's Interest in particular; and that they might all, by Submission and Thankfulness, as by Obedience and Sacrifice both together, ingratiate themselves and their common Cause to his Majesty's renowned Clemency, They, as Remembrancers, thought it no less than their Duty, to propose to their Consideration the Form enclosed; which, they hoped, they would apprehend very fit to be subscribed by the whole Assembly; it being no other, than what they themselves would, most readily, and most humbly, set their Hands unto. The Form proposed was, as follows.

*W*HEREAS we understand by three Acts of Council in England, lately published in this General Assembly, that his Majesty hath signified his gracious Pleasure, for the universal Good of this Plantation, which by reason of our late Calamities is in an unsettled State, to institute another Form of Government, whereby the Colony may be upheld, and prosper the better in time to come, and to that End hath required a Surrendry of the present Patents, declaring his Royal Intention, to secure to the particular Members of the Company such Lands and Privileges in the said Country, as, according to the Proportion of each Man's Adventure and private Interest, shall be found due unto him; We of this General Assembly do, by Subscription of our Names, not only profess and testify our Thankfulness, for that his Majesty's most gracious and tender Care over us, but do moreover, for our Parts, in all Humility and Willingness, submit ourselves to his princely Pleasure, of revoking our old Charters, and of vouchsafing his
new

new Letters-patent, to those noble Ends and Purposes, above-mentioned.

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THUS to draw the General Assembly to surrender and petition for a Revocation of their Charters, which the Courts in *England* would by no means submit to, was certainly a very crafty and effectual Way, to disgrace the Company, and to make the Colony seem disaffected to them, and willing to throw off their Yoke; and would also have given some Colour to their violent Suppression afterwards. But the Assembly seems fully to have understood their Aim, and even to suspect, that this was Part of their Errand and Instructions from *England*. For in their Answer, they endeavoured to draw from them, by what Authority they made such a Proposal, and said; As they could not see, how this Proposition had any Ground in the Instructions, they had yet seen, they desired, before the Assembly returned an Answer, that the Commissioners would shew them the Depth of their Authority; or otherwise set it down under their Hands, that they had no further Commissions or Instructions, which might concern them.

BUT this Answer gave the Commissioners great Offence, and drew from them a very fierce and menacing Reply: That they had acknowledged, in delivering their Papers, that they had neither Commission nor Instruction, to move them to subscribe the Form proposed; neither could the least Shadow of any such thing be collected from their Letter: That what they had proposed, was out of their Discretion, as wholesome Counsel for the Good of the Colony; neither was it precipitate or sudden, but proper to the Time, Occasion, and Persons: That the Mark, aimed at, was no less than his Majesty's Favour upon their Persons and common Cause, to be obtained by Obedience and Thankfulness: That as there needed neither Commission nor Instruction, for them to propound the Practice of so eminent a Duty, so it was lawful for them, as being Freemen and Planters, to offer to the General Assembly any reasonable Motion, tho' of far less Consequence; and had they not vouchsafed to return an Answer, they might justly have seemed discontented, or at least discourteous: That they had no Reason, upon this Occasion, to search into the Depth of their Authority (since their Motion depended not, nor needed to depend, on their particular Commission) much less, to urge them to set down any thing under their Hands: That they could not profess, that they had no farther Commissions, which might concern them, besides that already put in Execution; for their Commissions, yet unperformed, concerned

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To this the Assembly calmly replied: That they had already presented their humblest Thanks to his Majesty, for his gracious Care of them; and had returned their Answer to the Lords of the Privy Council: That when their Assent to the Surrendry of their Charters should be required by Authority, it would then be the most proper Time to make a Reply: But in the mean while, they conceived, his Majesty's Intention to change the Government had proceeded from wrong Information; which, they hoped, would be altered upon their more faithful Declarations. But the better to enable them to take a View of the Plantations, and to render an exact Account of the State of the Colony, the Assembly ordered, upon the Commissioners Application for their Assistance, that the several Plantations should transport them from Plantation to Plantation, as they should desire; and should accommodate them in the best Manner, their Houses and Rooms would afford. The Commissioners also made the Assembly four Propositions; concerning the best Places of Fortification and Defence; the State of the Colony; with Respect to the Savages; the Hopes, that might be really and truly conceived of the Plantation; and the properest Means, to attain those Hopes: To all which the Assembly gave full and particular Answers. And I cannot but remark, that Captain *Matthews*, who had joined with the General Assembly in their publick Acts and Representations against the former Government, did likewise join with the Commissioners in all these Proceedings: Whether he was brought over by the almighty Force and irresistible Allurement of private Advantage; or whether he thought himself obliged to do something in Conjunction with them, as he was included in the same Commission.

THE Laws of this Assembly consisted of thirty five Articles. For that Manner (taken, I presume, from the Articles, sent over by Sir *Thomas Smith*) was at this time, and continued long after, the usual Way of drawing up and enacting their Laws; which indeed had this Good in it, that all tedious Forms were thereby cut off, and the main Sense and Substance of their Acts appeared at once, in clear and precise Terms. As these Laws are the oldest, that I can now find upon our Records, and as they contain some things of especial Note, I shall here present them to the Reader.

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THE first seven related to the Church and Ministry, and enacted: That in every Plantation, where the People were wont to meet for the Worship of God, there should be a House, or Room, set apart for that Purpose, and not converted to any temporal Use whatsoever; and that a Place should be empaled and sequestered, only for the Burial of the Dead: That whosoever should absent himself from Divine Service any *Sunday*, without an allowable Excuse, should forfeit a Pound of Tobacco, and that he, who absented himself a Month, should forfeit fifty Pounds of Tobacco: That there should be an Uniformity in the Church, as near as might be, both in Substance and Circumstance, to the Canons of the Church of *England*; and that all Persons should yield a ready Obedience to them, upon Pain of Censure: That the 22d of *March* (the Day of the Massacre) should be solemnised and kept holy; and that all other Holidays should be observed, except when two fell together in the Summer Season (the Time of their Working and Crop) when the first only was to be observed, by reason of their Necessities and Employment: That no Minister should be absent from his Cure, above two Months in the whole Year, upon Penalty of forfeiting half his Salary; and whosoever was absent above four Months, should forfeit his whole Salary and his Cure: That whosoever should disparage a Minister, without sufficient Proof to justify his Reports, whereby the Minds of his Parishioners might be alienated from him, and his Ministry prove the less effectual, should not only pay five hundred Pounds of Tobacco, but should also ask the Minister Forgiveness, publicly in the Congregation: That no Man should dispose of any of his Tobacco, before the Minister was satisfied, upon Forfeiture of double his Part towards the Salary; and that one Man of every Plantation should be appointed, to collect the Minister's Salary, out of the first and best Tobacco and Corn.

THE eighth and ninth Articles related to the Governor's Power: That he should not lay any Taxes or Impositions upon the Colony, their Lands, or Commodities, otherwise than by the Authority of the General Assembly; to be levied and employed, as the said Assembly should appoint: That he should not withdraw the Inhabitants from their private Labours to any Service of his own, under any Colour whatsoever; and if the publick Service should require the Employment of many Hands, before another General Assembly met to give Order for the same, in that Case, the levying Men should be done, by the Order of the Governor and whole Body of the Council; and that in such Sort, as to be least burthenfome to the People, and

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1624. most free from Partiality. Thus early was the Assembly, out of the Memory of their past Miseries and Oppressions, studious and careful to establish our Liberties; and we had here, by the ready Concurrence and Co-operation of this excellent Governor, a *Petition of Right* passed, above four Years, before that Matter was indubitably settled and explained in *England*. For these two Articles contain the same in Effect, as that famous explanatory and fundamental Law of the *English* Constitution; viz. The firm Property of the Subjects Goods and Estates, and the Liberty of their Persons.

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THE other Articles enacted: That all the old Planters, who were here before, or came in at the last Arrival of Sir *Thomas Gates* (in *August* 1611.) should both themselves and their Posterity, except such as were employed to command in Chief, be exempted from their personal Service in the Wars, and from all other publick Charges (Church Duties only excepted) but without the like Exemption of their Servants and Families: That no Burgesses of the General Assembly should be arrested, during the sitting of the Assembly, and a Week before and Week after; upon Pain of the Creditor's forfeiting his Debt, and such Punishment upon the Officer, as the Court should award: That there should be Courts kept once a Month, in the Corporations of *Charles-City* and *Elisabeth-City*, for deciding Suits and Controversies, not exceeding the Value of one hundred Pounds of Tobacco, and for punishing petty Offences; and that the Commanders of the Places, with such others, as the Governor and Council should appoint by Commission, should be Judges, the Commanders to be of the *Quorum*, and Sentence given by Majority of Voices; with Reservation nevertheless of Appeal, after Sentence, to the Governor and Council; and that whosoever appealed and was cast upon such Appeal, should pay double Damages: That every private Planter's Dividend of Land should be surveyed and laid off separately, and the Bounds recorded by the Surveyor, who should have ten Pounds of Tobacco for every hundred Acres surveyed; and that all petty Differences, between Neighbours about their Bounds, should be decided by the Surveyor, but if of Importance, referred to the Governor and Council: That, for the People's Encouragement to plant Store of Corn, the Price should be left free, and every Man might sell it, as dear as he could: (For the Governor and Council did then, and long afterwards, set a Rate Yearly upon all Commodities, with Penalties upon those, who exceeded it) That there should be a publick Granery in each Parish, to which every Planter,

above

above eighteen Years of Age, who had been in the Country a Year, and was alive at the Crop, should contribute a Barrel of Corn, to be disposed of, for the publick Uses of the Parish, by the major Part of the Freemen; the Remainder to be taken out by the Owners, Yearly on St. *Thomas's* Day, and the new brought and put in it's Room: That three capable Men, of every Parish, should be sworn, to see, that every Man planted and tended Corn sufficient for his Family; and that those, who neglected so to do, should be presented by the said three Men, to the Censure of the Governor and Council: That all Trade with the *Indians* for Corn, as well publick as private, should be prohibited, after the *June* following: That every Freeman should fence in a Quarter of an Acre of Ground, before the *Whitsuntide* next ensuing, for planting Vines, Herbs, Roots, and the like, under the Penalty of ten Pounds of Tobacco a Man; but that no Man, for his own Family, should be obliged to fence above an Acre; and that whosoever had fenced a Garden, and was outed of the Land, should be paid for it by the Owner of the Soil; and that they should also plant Mulberry Trees: That the Proclamations against Swearing and Drunkenness, set forth by the Governor and Council, were ratified by this Assembly; and it was farther ordered, that the Churchwardens should be sworn, to present all Offenders, to the Commanders of their respective Plantations; and that they should collect the Forfeitures for publick Uses: That a Proclamation should be read aboard every Ship, and afterwards fixed to the Mast, prohibiting them, without special Order from the Governor and Council, to break Bulk, or make private Sale of any Commodities, till they came up to *James-City*: That the ancient Rates of Commodities should be still in Force; and that Men should be sworn, in every Plantation, to censure the Tobacco: (So old are the first Rudiments of our Tobacco-Law; which nevertheless, after such long Experience, raised much Opposition and Disturbance:) That there should be no Weights or Measures used, but such as were sealed, by Officers appointed for that Purpose: That every Dwelling-house should be Palisadoed in, for Defence against the *Indians*: That no Man should go, or send abroad, without a sufficient Party, well armed: That Men should not go to Work, without their Arms and a Sentinel set: That the Inhabitants of the Plantations should not go on board Ships, or upon any other Occasion, in such Numbers, as thereby to weaken and endanger the Plantation: That the Commander of every Plantation should take Care, that there be sufficient of Powder and Ammunition within his Plantation; and that their

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Pieces be fixed, and Arms compleat: That there be sufficient Watch kept, every Night: That no Commander of any Plantation should either spend himself, or suffer others to spend Powder unnecessarily, in Drinking, Entertainments, and the like: That such Persons of Condition, as were found delinquent in their Duty, and were not fit to undergo corporal Punishment, might notwithstanding be imprisoned at the Discretion of the Commander, and for greater Offences be subject to a Fine, inflicted by the Monthly Court; so that it did not exceed the Value abovesaid: That every Person who had not found a Man at the Castle (then building at *Warraqueake*) should pay, for himself and Servants, five Pounds of Tobacco a Head, towards defraying the Charge of those, who had their Servants there: That, at the Beginning of *July* following, every Corporation should fall upon their adjoining *Indians*; and that those who should be hurt upon the Service, should be cured at the publick Expence; and if any were lamed, they should be maintained by the Country, according to their Person and Quality: That for discharging such publick Debts, as their Troubles had brought upon them, there should be levied ten Pounds of Tobacco upon every Male, above sixteen Years of Age, then living; but not including such, as had arrived since the Beginning of *July* last: That no Person, within this Colony, should presume, upon the Rumour of any supposed Change and Alteration in *England*, to be disobedient to the present Government, nor Servants to their private Masters, Officers, or Overseers, at their utmost Peril. And the last Article related to sending Mr. *Pountis* to *England*, and levying four Pounds of Tobacco a Head, to support his Expences. Most of these Laws were taken from preceeding Proclamations and Orders of the Governor and Council; and I find, that the Governor was obliged, soon after, to issue a Proclamation, forbidding Women to contract themselves to two several Men at one time. For Women being yet scarce and much in request, this Offence was become very common; whereby great Disquiet arose between Parties, and no small Trouble to the Government. It was therefore ordered; That every Minister should give Notice in his Church, that what Man or Woman soever should use any Word or Speech, tending to a Contract of Marriage, to two several Persons at one time, altho' not precise and legal, yet so as might entangle or breed Scruple in their Consciences, should, for such their Offence, either undergo corporal Correction, or be punished by Fine, or otherwise, according to the Quality of the Person so offending.

BUT

BUT whilst the Commissioners were pushing the Court Designs in *Virginia*, the opponent Faction in *England* were not less diligent and industrious to blacken and defame the Company. To this end, they engaged, according to their usual Method, some Planters, lately returned from *Virginia*, to petition and complain to his Majesty. Neither was it a difficult thing, among so many weak, indigent, or wicked Persons, as were concerned in the Plantations, to procure some to second and abet any Complaint, however false and unjust. Among other Matters of Grievance, they complained of the many Impositions and Levies, laid upon the Planters towards the Support of the Company, from whom they were wont formerly to receive Relief; and therefore they besought his Majesty, to take them into his Royal Mercy and Protection, and to free them for the future from the grievous Impositions of the said Company. But Mr. Deputy *Farrar* desired them, to set down in Writing the particular Grievances and Oppressions, which they thus complained of in general; that the Company might thereby be enabled to return a full and particular Answer. This they promised to do, but afterwards, upon better Advice, refused; till at length, being farther pressed, they brought nine Articles, which however they could not be induced to subscribe, being restrained by those behind the Scene. These Articles contained criminal Charges of a very high Nature, and some of them Capital, against the Governor and Council in *Virginia*; so that the Lawyers of the Company declared, that the Persons who presented them, except they could maintain and make them good, had incurred the Penalty of Libellers. But at last, after much Shuffling and Absurdity of Complaint and Accusation, the Complainants in general, and one *Perry* in particular, confessed, that altho' they pretended to have Authority and Commission from the Planters in *Virginia* to make these Complaints, yet the Whole, both the Petition and Grievances, were entirely framed in *England*. Wherefore the Company, perceiving, they had been abused and drawn into it by the Malice of others, thought fit to pass it over, in Favour and Compassion to their Ignorance and Credulity.

UPON Occasion of these grievous Accusations against the Governor and Council, Sir *Francis Wyat's* Character and Conduct were called much into Question and canvassed. But he was sufficiently cleared by the rest of the Planters then in *England*; who gave ample Testimony to the Worthiness and Uprightness of his Proceedings, and declared upon their Consciences, that they esteemed him to be a most just and sincere Gentleman, and free from all Manner of

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Corruption and private Ends. As therefore he had, by a Letter to the Company, declared his Desire to leave the Government at the Expiration of his Commission, which would be shortly, they took the Matter into their serious Consideration. But finding, that he had given very great Satisfaction to the Colony, as appeared by the Report of the Planters; and considering also, how much the Company was in his Debt, by not furnishing him with his legal Number of Tenants, and that they had no Means left to make good their Promise to him, much less were they able to set out a new Governor, it was thought best and most adviseable, to continue him still in his Office. But some of the opponent Faction moving, that Sir *Samuel Argall*, in Regard of his Worth, and of his Desire for the Place, might stand in Election with him, they were both ballotted; and Sir *Francis Wyat* was chosen by having sixty nine Balls, and Sir *Samuel Argall* only eight. And as the Company was then unable to send over more Men to him, it was ordered, that he should be supplied with his full Complement, out of the Company's Tenants in *Virginia*; and the Consideration of some Recompence, for his former Loss and Disappointment, was referred to the next Quarter Court.

THE last Parliament, out of their Love and Esteem for *Virginia*, but more especially out of Regard to the Advancement of the Trade of *England*, had taken into their Consideration the Case of the Plantation Tobacco, and had entered into a very good Course about it; but by Reason of their sudden Adjournment and Breach with the King, they were obliged to leave it unfinished. The Company therefore, being encouraged by this, and quite wearied out by the equivocal and suspicious Conduct of the King and his Ministers, presented a Petition to the House of Commons, setting forth:

THAT after divers Discoveries had confirmed the Opinion, that *Virginia* was situate in a temperate and wholesome Climate, that the Soil was rich and fertile, the Country well watered with fruitful and navigable Rivers, and that their Ships, through a fair Sea, might have a comfortable falling in on a safe Coast, it pleased God so to affect the Minds of divers worthily disposed Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, as to think it a Matter of great Religion and Honour, to endeavour the Propagation of Christianity among those barbarous People, and to gain such a hopeful Addition of Territory to his Majesty's Dominions: That his Majesty also, being informed thereof, and apprehending, that great Honour and Commodity would thence arise to this Kingdom, was pleased, by his most gracious Letters-patent of

of Incorporation, from time to time renewed and enlarged, to confer as ample Privileges and Immunities, both for their Assistance, who should become Directors of the Business at home, and for their Comfort and Encouragement, that would settle and inhabit the Country, as could be then foreseen or desired: That this gave so general an Encouragement, that Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, and others, in great Numbers, became Adventurers; who, besides their Money, afforded many other Helps by their Industry, towards the Advancement and Perfection of this noble Work: And that, notwithstanding a Multitude of Accidents and Disasters, incident to such Undertakings in a remote and savage Country, yet it pleased God, often to enliven their Hopes and Endeavours, by such an undoubted Probability of obtaining, at least for the Publick and Posterity, so beneficial a Retribution for all their Pains and Expence, as would, in the End, crown their Labours with as much Glory, Honour, and Profit to the Realm of *England*, as could be well wished or expected.

THEY then proceeded to recount the several Emoluments and Advantages to *England*, which they had in their View and Expectation. 1. The Conversion of the Savages to *Christianity*, and establishing the first Colony of the Reformed Religion. 2. The discharging the Overplus of necessitous People, which administered Fewel to dangerous Insurrections, and the leaving greater Plenty for those, who remained. 3. The gaining a large Territory, already known to be great, and which might prove much greater; whose Fertility of Soil, and Temperature of Clime, agreed well with the *English*, and produced by Nature and Industry, whatever useful Commodities were found in any known Country. 4. The beneficial Fisheries discovered; which, together with the continual Intercourse and Commerce between People of the same Nation, would contribute exceedingly to the Increase of the *English* Trade and Navigation. 5. The vast Quantity of Timber and Materials, for building and setting forth Ships; whereof there was a great Scarcity throughout all *Europe*. 6. The Assurance, that many rich Trades might be found out there, and driven on to the incredible Benefit of the Nation; besides the no small Hopes of an easy and short Passage to the *South* Sea, either by Sea or Land. 7. The inestimable Advantage, that would be gained, in Case of War, both for the easy assaulting the *Spanish West-Indies*, and for the relieving and succouring all Ships and Men of War; the Want whereof had in former times, disappointed and overthrown so many Voyages. But hereby the Benefit to the *English*

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English would be certain, and the Enemy's Loss and Annoyance inevitable. After which, they went on in the following Manner :

BUT so it is, that now, when the natural Difficulties, incident to all new Plantations, are by Diligence and Tract of Time, but most especially by the Blessing of Almighty God, in a great Measure overcome ; yet there have risen other unnatural Impediments, proceeding from Faction and Discord, from the cunning Courses and Practices of some Persons, who tended wholly to their own Profit, from Misemployment of the publick Stock, false Accounts, and the like Corruptions and Diversions from the main Business ; and that these were so encreased of late, and supported by strong Hand, as threatened speedy Ruin and Destruction to that excellent Work, if Remedies were not timely applied : That they, the Council and Company of *Virginia*, differed not a little from other Companies ; as well in their Composition, consisting of principal Noblemen, Gentlemen, Merchants and others ; as in the Ends, for which they were established, being not simply for Matter of Trade, but for things of a higher and more publick Nature : That nevertheless, finding themselves, in their Body, as it was then distempered, unable to be their own Physicians without higher Assistance, they thought it their Duty, as well to clear their own Reputation, as in Discharge of their Conscience, and of the Trust reposed in them, to represent to the Parliament this Child of the Nation, exposed, as in the Wilderness, to extreme Danger, and then fainting, as it were, and labouring for Life.

THEY therefore humbly entreated that honourable House, to take into their Commiseration, the distressed Colony and oppressed Company ; and to receive an Account from such of his Majesty's Council for *Virginia*, as, being Members of their House, had been appointed by the Company, to give them a full and exact Relation of all their Grievances and Oppressions : Which, tho' of sundry Kinds, yet had received (as they doubted not to make evident) either their Original or Strength from the Lord High Treasurer, out of his private and unjust Designs ; not only to almost the Overthrow of the Colony, but also to the Deception of his Majesty in his Profit and Revenue, to the great Prejudice of the whole Kingdom in Matter of Trade, and even to Points of dangerous Consequence to the Liberty of the Subject.

THIS Proceeding was certainly no ways grateful to the King, who conceived himself much injured and affronted, if the Parliament entered upon any Consideration, which
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was not recommended to them by himself. For he looked upon them, not as the grand Council of the Nation, but of the King; and expected, that they should proceed with the abject Adulation and Submission of his Privy Council, and never touch upon any disagreeable Subjects. But above all, Matters of Grievance were the Points, on which he was most tender and touchy, and would often winch grievously; and altho' the thing was disguised, and even Praises were given him in some Parts of this Petition, yet it was evidently levelled, in the main, against him and his Ministers. However, as his Majesty had called this Parliament with quite different Views, and treated it in a quite different Manner from the last, he took no Notice of it, but permitted it to take its Course in the House. Its Reception was also secured by the Complaints, in the latter Part, against the Lord High Treasurer; whom *Buckingham* and the Prince were, at this time, pulling down and tearing, as it were, with great Violence from the King's Side, not without very great Pain and Grief to his Majesty.

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THIS Petition was committed to the Deputy, and such others of the Council, as were also Members of the House of Commons; to present it to their House, in the Name of the Council and Company of *Virginia*. It was received by the Commons very acceptably, notwithstanding some Opposition at first; and a Committee was appointed to hear and examine their Grievances and Oppressions, to which all of the Company, that were Members of the House, were admitted, to come and to hear, but not to have any Voice. But conceiving, that Counsel at Law could not be so fully informed of all Passages, as was requisite, and would not perhaps be so cordially concerned, or favourably heard, they divided their Grievances into four several Heads, and committed them to the following Gentlemen, to deliver and speak to them. 1. The Case of their Tobacco, with all the Oppressions and Impositions upon it, was committed to Mr. Deputy-Treasurer, *Nicholas Farrar*: 2. The Business of the Contract, to Sir *Edwin Sandys*: 3. The Proceedings of the Commissioners, to the Lord *Cavendish*: 4. All Passages and Measures since, to Sir *John Davers*. And all these Gentlemen, but especially the Lord *Cavendish*, did very nobly and chearfully undertake, to perform and make good their several Parts.

IT was the Misfortune of these Affairs, to be brought into Parliament very late in the Sessions; and they were besides of a very tender and delicate Nature. For, in their Process and Issue, they must have turned to a plain Arraignment of the Weakness and Unfairness, or even of the

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downright Injustice and Oppressiveness of the King's Conduct towards the Company and Colony. The main Business therefore of their Oppressions and Grievances did not proceed in Parliament, but was waved and flurred over in Silence. But the particular Case of Tobacco, by the exceeding Care and Wisdom of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, assisted by the Lord *Cavendish*, and the other Gentlemen of the Company, who had Seats in Parliament, was brought to a happy Issue. For the Importation of foreign Tobacco was put, as one of the nine Grievances of the Realm in Point of Trade, which this Session presented to his Majesty, and desired Relief in. And altho' this was done professedly for the Good of *England*, without any Mention or Relation to *Virginia*, yet the Deputy told the Company, that he doubted not, but the whole House had, in their Hearts, an especial Regard to the Advancement of the Colonies. And as this Course was as effectual for Exclusion of *Spanish* Tobacco, as if it had been done by Bill, so was it much better, than if it had been done by the Bill, which was drawn the last Parliament. For since that Time, the State and Price of Tobacco was so much altered, that it could then no ways bear the twelve Pence a Pound Duty, which that Bill laid upon it, but must thereby have been as certainly ruined and overthrown, as by any other Course. But this second Way brought with it all the Good of the Bill, and left out all its Evil. Wherefore, he said, it could not be too much commended, nor Sir *Edwin Sandys*, to whom they were beholden for it, sufficiently thanked. And it may be here farther observed, that the King's Measures by this time were entirely reversed. For the *Spanish* Match was now broke off, and even War was declared against the King of *Spain*, and the whole House of *Austria*. So that the Interest of *England* would no longer be obliged to stoop to the Interest of *Spain*; and a Prohibition of their Tobacco would be easily granted, as it agreed with the present Passions and Measures of the Court.

THIS was the last Service that Sir *Edwin Sandys*, or the Company, were able to do the Colony and Trade. For soon after, Captain *Harvey* and Mr. *Pory*, the Privy Council's Commissioners, returned from *Virginia*. What their Report was of the State of the Colony, I cannot discover; but we may easily judge, by the Principles and Dispositions of the Men, that it was not much to the Honour or Advantage of the present Government. Upon their Return therefore, his Majesty was pleased, by a Proclamation bearing Date the 15th of *July*, 1624, to suppress the Course of their Courts at Deputy *Farrar's*. And for the present Ordering
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of the Affairs of the Colony, 'till a fuller and more perfect Settlement of them could be made, the Lord President of his Majesty's Privy Council, with other Privy Counsellors, and several Knights and Gentlemen, were appointed to meet, every *Thursday* in the Afternoon, at Sir *Thomas Smith's* House, in *Philpot-Lane*; whither all Persons, whom it might concern, were ordered to repair. And thus Sir *Thomas Smith* triumphed over the Companies and the Colonies; and notwithstanding the authentic Representations of the Company in *England*, and our General Assembly here against him, and the plain Detection of his Cruelties and Oppressions, to all Men of common Sense and common Justice, yet he did at last recover his Power again, and was the Person chiefly depended upon, by the *Solomon* of that Age, in all Matters relating to them. For the *Somer-Islands* Courts had been suppressed some Months before, by a simple Letter from the King; and Meetings appointed, at Sir *Thomas Smith's*, for the Management of their Affairs. But these Meetings were without the Mixture of any Privy Counsellors, and wholly consisted of himself and his Creatures. And by this time, in the Absence of Sir *Edward Sackvil*, now Earl of *Dorset*, their Governor, who had, the Year before, succeeded the Lord *Cavendish*, now also Earl of *Devonshire*, and under Colour of some Complaints and Diffentions, the Lords of the Privy Council appointed Sir *Thomas Smith* again Governor of that Company; assuming to themselves a boundless Power of placing and displacing legal Officers, as they pleased. This Appointment, Captain *Smith* tells us, was afterwards confirmed, and Sir *Thomas Smith* elected by the Court. But this Court was only his Faction, who assumed to themselves that Name and Character. For I find, that many of the Company, and as it appears, a vast Majority, complained of them, and declared against their Meetings, as Usurpations upon the Government of the Company, and no ways legal or valid.

THIS was the End of the *Virginia* Company; one of the noblest, most illustrious, and publick-spirited Societies, that ever yet perhaps engaged in such an Undertaking. It was an Event certainly of Benefit and Advantage to the Country, as we in *America* find by Experience, that it is better to be under a Royal Government, than in the Hands of Proprietors, in what Shape or Manner soever. But yet it must be at last confessed, that it was brought about with all imaginable Instances of Unrighteousness and Oppression; and that not even the Decency of Forms of Law were kept up or regarded in it. For altho' a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (an oppressive Writ in itself, and for the most part turned

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1624. to very base and illegal Purposes) was issued against the Company, yet I cannot understand, altho' I have taken no small Pains to find it out, that it ever came to an Issue or Determination. And to dissolve them by the arbitrary Authority of a Proclamation, whilst a legal Process was depending, seems but a more bare-faced Injustice and Oppression. Far the greater Part of the Company did, by no means, deserve such Treatment. They appear, from all the Papers and Records that I have perused, to have been Gentlemen of very noble, clear, and disinterested Designs; who, as they were above the Necessity of any Access to their own Fortunes, were willing and intent to spend much of their Time and Money, in advancing an Undertaking which they justly conceived to be of very great Consequence to their Country. And even Captain *Smith*, who was certainly no Friend to the Company, and whose History seems much in Honour and Vindication of Sir *Thomas Smith* and his Government, yet owns, that scarce any of the Nobility and Gentry expected or aimed at any thing else, but the Prosperity of the Action: And he was confidently persuaded, that some Merchants, and others, took more Care and Pains, even at their own continual great Charge, than they could be hired to, for the Love of Money; so honestly regarding the general Good of the Enterprize, that they would hold it worse than Sacrilege, to wrong it but a Shilling, or to extort a Penny upon the common People.

IT may indeed be thought something strange, how so many Gentlemen, of the noblest Fortunes and most publick Spirits in the Nation, could so patiently submit to such evident Injury and Wrong, without bringing the Matter to a legal Trial. But they had been much harrassed and fatigued of late, by the Discords and Factions in the Company; which, they plainly saw, were supported and abetted by the King, for some unjust and partial Views of his own, being much charmed with the unexpectedly large and rising Revenue from Tobacco, and therefore desirous to get the Plantations wholly into his own Hands. They had also expended largely above an hundred thousand Pounds, out of their own private Fortunes, without any probable Prospect of present Retribution or Gain to themselves; and they could not but see, that proceeding in the Enterprize would still engage them in farther Expences, for which they would only be exposed to the Abuses and Affronts of the opponent Faction, and to Injuries and Oppressions from the King and his Council. They might also consider perhaps the State of the Courts of Law at that time, which could give them but slender Hopes of obtaining any Redress there. For the
Judges

Judges and Oracles of Law are greatly wronged and abused, if they were not then, like the lying Oracle of old, much addi&ed to *philippizing*, and willing to raise the Royal Pre-rogative above all Restraints of Law, or of any other earthly Power. Their original Records, on which their Proofs must chiefly depend, had likewise been taken from them by the Privy Council. And the Earl of *Southampton*, who had all their Eyes and Hearts fixed upon him, after languishing some time, and having first lost his eldest Son, the Lord *Wriothsley*, died this following Winter 1624. To which may be added, that the Success of the Colonies was still doubtful, without the King's Favour and Protection; or at least against his Will, and the perpetual Stretch of his Power thwarting and oppressing them. They therefore silently acquiesced and submitted to this illegal Dissolution; and quietly withdrew from an Affair, which had cost them so much Money and Pains, and had given them such continual Trouble and Vexation.

1624.

Sir Francis
Wyat, Go-
vernor.

F I N I S.



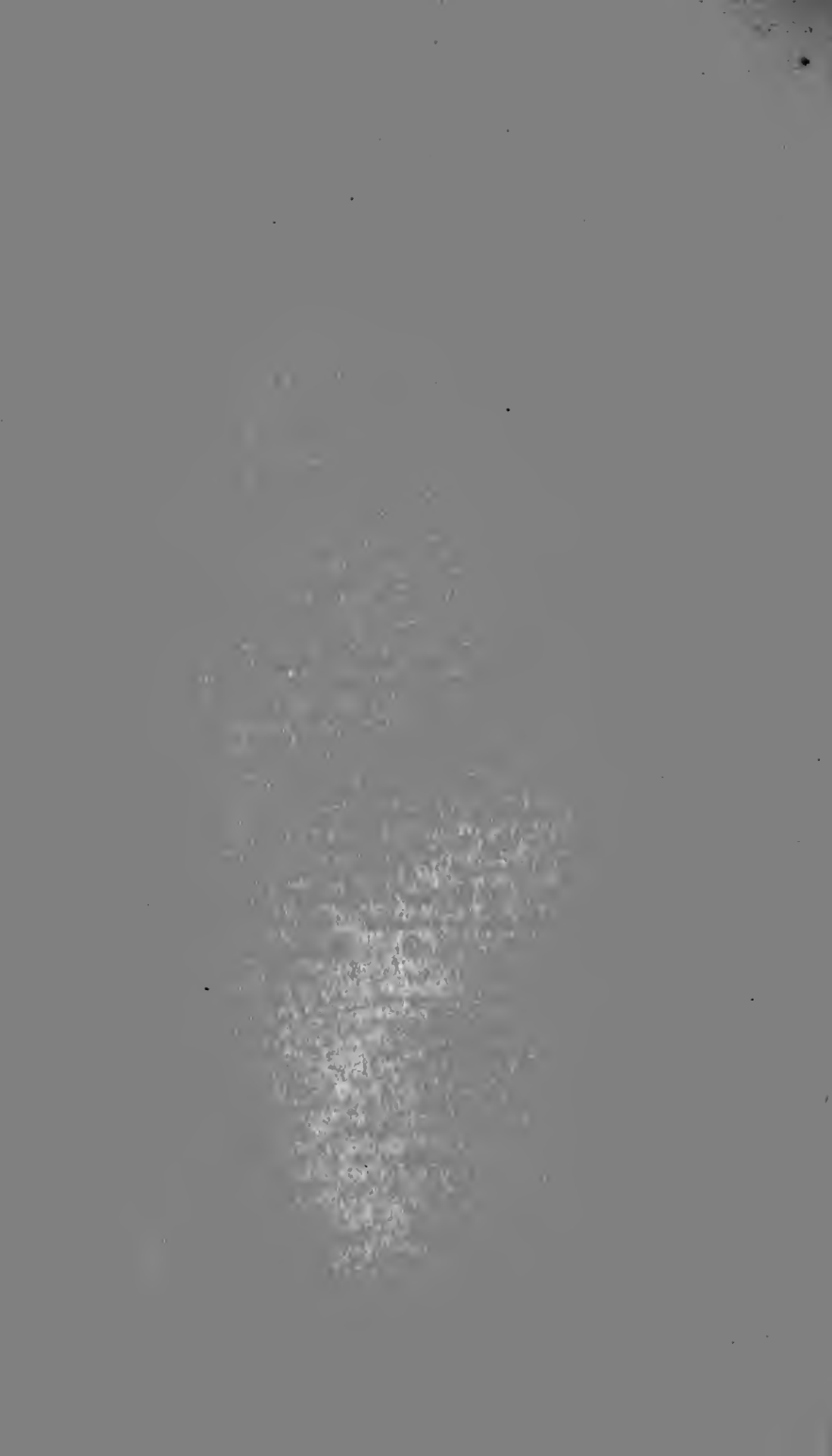


AN
APPENDIX
TO THE
First Part of the
HISTORY
OF
VIRGINIA:
CONTAINING

A Collection of such ancient Charters
or Letters Patent, as relate to that Period
of Time, and are still extant in our publick
Offices in the *Capitol*, or in other authentic
Papers and Records.



WILLIAMSBURG: Printed by W. PARKS,
M,DCC,XLVII.



THE

P R E F A C E.

OF the two first of the following Charters, I have seen four Copies; one among the oldest Records in the Secretary's Office, much mangled and defaced; another in the Council Office, tolerably legible; a third, in a very fair Book of Records, which belongs, as I take it, to the House of Burgesses Office; and the fourth and most correct, I found among Sir John Randolph's Papers, transcribed by his Clerk, and collated, as I suppose, from different Copies. However, I can venture to assure the Reader, that the Edition, which I here give by the Help of the two last mentioned Copies, is still fuller and more correct than any of them. Of the third Charter I have never met with but one Copy, likewise in Sir John Randolph's Collection of publick Papers. It is pretty correctly transcribed; and I hope, it will be found, with the necessary Emendations, I have made in it, very complete and exact. These are all the King's Charters to the Company, that I have been able to find; although they certainly are not all, he granted. For many things are mentioned in the Company's Records, as drawn from their Charters, which, are nevertheless not to be found in these. But to these Royal Charters I have added a fourth, The Company's Charter and Constitution of a Council of State and a General Assembly; which I found in the above-mentioned Book, belonging to the Clerk's Office of the House of Burgesses. As their Authority for granting it was unquestionable, and as it is of an important Nature, and the first Draught and Foundation of the Constitution of this Colony, I thought, an Edition of it would not be unacceptable to the learned and curious Reader.

I once intended (as Bishop Burnet has done, in a very useful and satisfactory Manner, in his History of the Reformation) to have added several other very curious Papers and original Pieces of Record. But I perceive, to my no small

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Surprise and Mortification, that some of my Countrymen (and those too, Persons of high Fortune and Distinction) seemed to be much alarmed, and to grudge, that a complete History of their own Country would run to more than one Volume, and cost them above half a Pistole. I was therefore obliged to restrain my Hand, and only to insert these few most necessary Instruments, for fear of enhancing the Price, to the immense Charge and irreparable Damage of such generous and publick-spirited Gentlemen.

I thought the Publication of these Charters the more proper, as I conceive, that they have never been legally revoked, and as they contain things of very great Consequence and Concern. For if the Inhabitants and Natives of these Colonies are entitled to all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities of free Denizens and natural Subjects, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the Realm of England, or any other of his Majesty's Dominions (as is expressly declared in Sect. xv. of the first, and Sect. xxii. of the second Charter) what Room can there be for that slavish Doctrine, which was broached by a Judge of New-York, in a criminal Trial, (the Case of Col. Bayard, published in the printed Collection of State Trials) that altho' petitioning the King was no Crime, yet it might be so, to petition the House of Commons in the Plantations, where the King governs by his PREROGATIVE; a Word always doubtful, equivocal, and suspicious, but to be sure fruitful of Tyranny and of all arbitrary and illegal Oppression, when unfixed and unrestrained by the Law. And what Law in the Plantations can curb the Royal Prerogative, which is said to be as ancient as the Crown of England itself, and to be always inherent and inseparable from it? But it is not to be supposed, that that Dragoon of the Long-Robe, and legal Pander to Slavery, had any Thought or Desire, to stop with the Laws the Breach, which he endeavoured to make in the Liberties of the Colonies; or to stay, with old moldering Parchments, the lawless and overwhelming Waves of Prerogative.

BUT farther: If we have a Right to all the Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities of Englishmen, in vain was the Chicanery of K. Charles II, and at last his absolute Refusal, in the Charter which he granted the Colony, to ratify and confirm the Power and Authority of the Grand Assembly, consisting of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses; as also to grant and declare, that no Manner of Impositions or Taxes should be laid on the Colony, but by the common Consent of the Governor, Council, and Burgesses, as had been theretofore used. For what Liberty, Franchise, or

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Immunity is dearer or more essential to Englishmen, than to be subject to such Laws, as are enacted, and to be liable to no Taxes, but what are laid upon them, by their own Consent, in a Parliamentary Way? And besides, it was then too late to abridge the Liberties of our General Assemblies, and to keep them in a precarious and dependent State, as that Prince (never a Friend to the Liberties of his People or Mankind, but about that time particularly plunged in arbitrary Schemes and Designs) endeavoured to do. For above fifty Years before that, the Company had expressly established the General Assembly, by the fourth Charter in this Collection, and by a Power immediately derived from the King. And supposing their own Charters were afterwards legally revoked, yet that (which they granted by his Majesty's express Authority and Direction, and whilst their own Powers were in full Force and Validity) will not, I presume, consequently fall and be annulled with them.

THESE, and the like Conclusions, will naturally arise from the following Charters. And I therefore hope, I shall need no other Reason or Apology, for thus giving them to the Publick.

N^o. I.

K. James I.'s Letters Patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for two several Colonies and Plantations, to be made in Virginia, and other Parts and Territories of America. Dated April 10, 1606.

I. JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. WHEREAS our loving and well-disposed Subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker, and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of America, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coasts thereof;

II. AND to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies; The one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of London and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, alongst the Coasts of Virginia and Coasts of America aforesaid; And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth:

III. WE, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such

2 K. *James's first Charter for VIRGINIA, April 10, 1606.*

such People, as yet live in Darknefs and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; D O, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended Desires;

IV. AND do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, G R A N T and agree, that the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of and for our City of *London*, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *first Colony*; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia* or *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of *English* Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *Southwest*, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marshes, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like *English* Miles, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *Northeast*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Backside of them, towards the main Land, without the Express Licence or Consent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing first had and obtained.

V. AND we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, G R A N T and agree, that the said *Thomas Hanham*, and *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the Town of *Plimouth* in the County of *Devon*, or elsewhere, which are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *second Colony*; And that they shall and may begin their said Plantation and Seat of their first Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight
and

and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude; And that they shall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like *English* Miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *Southwest*, or towards the *South*, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands within one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all alongst the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *Northeast*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, and all the Islands also within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles; And shall and may inhabit and remain there; and shall and may also build and fortify within any the same for their better Safeguard, according to their best Discretion, and the Discretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects shall be permitted, or suffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Back of them, towards the main Land, without the expresse Licence of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto first had and obtained.

VI. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like *English* Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.

VII. AND we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of *England*; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed and comprised in the same Instructions; And shall have a several Seal, for all Matters that shall pass or concern the same several Councils; Each of which Seals shall have the King's Arms engraven on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other; And that the Seal for the Council of the said first Colony shall have engraven round about, on the one Side, these Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*; on the other Side this Inscription, round about; *Pro Concilio primæ Coloniae Virginiae*. And the Seal for
the

the Council of the said second Colony shall also have engraven, round about the one Side thereof, the aforesaid Words; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ, Britannia, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*; and on the other Side; *Pro Concilio secundæ Colonie Virginie*:

VIII. AND that also there shall be a Council established here in *England*, which shall, in like Manner, consist of thirteen Persons, to be, for that Purpose, appointed by Us, our Heirs and Successors, which shall be called our *Council of Virginia*; And shall, from time to time, have the superior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that shall or may concern the Government, as well of the said several Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforesaid Precincts of four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, abovementioned; Which Council shall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council or Colonies, with the like Arms and Portraiture, as aforesaid, with this Inscription, engraven round about on the one Side; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*; and round about the other Side, *Pro Concilio suo Virginie*.

IX. AND moreover, we do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said several Councils, of and for the said several Colonies, shall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs or Successors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and search for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any Part of their said several Colonies, as of the said main Lands on the Backside of the same Colonies; And to HAVE and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Use and Behoof of the same Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the fifth Part only of all the same Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the same Copper, so to be gotten or had, as is aforesaid, without any other Manner of Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for or in Respect of the same:

X. AND that they shall, or lawfully may, establish and cause to be made a Coin, to pass current there between the People of those several Colonies, for the more Ease of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongst them and the Natives there, of such Metal, and in such Manner and Form, as the said several Councils there shall limit and appoint.

XI. AND we do likewise, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and to every of them, and to the said several Companies, Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the said several Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the said Colonies and Plantations, such and so many of our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the said Voyages and Plantations,

tations; With sufficient Shipping, and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Powder, Victual, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantations, and for their Use and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the said Persons be such, as shall hereafter be specially restrained by Us, our Heirs, or Successors.

XII. MOREOVER, we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the said Colonies, that they, and every of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several Defences, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons, as without the especial Licence of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that shall enterprize or attempt, at any time hereafter, the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the said several Colonies or Plantations:

XIII. GIVING AND GRANTING, by these Presents, unto the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward-Maria Wingfield, and their Associates of the said first Colony, and unto the said Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Associates of the said second Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and surprize, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons, with their Ships, Vessels, Goods, and other Furniture, which shall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, not being of the same Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer of that Colony, within whose Limits and Precincts they shall so traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, so by them trafficked, bought, or sold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obedience, until they shall pay five upon every Hundred, of such Wares and Merchandises, as they shall traffick, buy, or sell, within the Precincts of the said several Colonies, wherein they shall so traffick, buy, or sell, as aforesaid; WHICH Sums of Money, or Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, shall be wholly employed to the Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said several Plantations, where such Traffick shall be made; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, shall be thereunto assigned or appointed.

6 K. *James's first Charter for VIRGINIA, April 10, 1606.*

XIV. AND we do further, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and to their Associates of the said first Colony and Plantation, and to the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and their Associates of the said second Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Ministers, and Factors, may transport the Goods, Chattles, Armour, Munition, and Furniture, needful to be used by them, for their said Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwise in Respect of the said Plantations, out of our Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of seven Years, next ensuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the said several Colonies and Plantations, without any Custom, Subsidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors, to be yielded or paid for the same.

XV. ALSO we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their Children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of *England*, or any other of our said Dominions.

XVI. MOREOVER, our gracious Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, declare and set forth, that if any Person or Persons, which shall be of any of the said Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which shall traffick to the said Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, shall, at any time or times hereafter, transport any Wares, Merchandises, or Commodities, out of any our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the said Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the same within any of the said Colonies and Plantations, shall carry the same into any other foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell or dispose of the same, without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in that Behalf first had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of such Person or Persons, so offending and transporting, together with the said Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XVII. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all *Christian* Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Person or Persons, which shall hereafter be of any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their or any of their Licence and Appointment, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by Sea or by Land, or do
any

any Act of unjust and unlawful Hostility, to any the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Successors, or any the Subjects of any King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Successors, and that upon such Injury, or upon just Complaint of such Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Successors, shall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of *England*, commodious for that Purpose, That the said Person or Persons, having committed any such Robbery or Spoil, shall, within the Term to be limited by such Proclamations, make full Restitution or Satisfaction of all such Injuries done, so as the said Princes, or others, so complaining, may hold themselves fully satisfied and contented; And that, if the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, shall not make, or cause to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within such Time so to be limited, That then it shall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to put the said Person or Persons, having committed such Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abettors, or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it shall be lawful and free, for all Princes and others, to pursue with Hostility the said Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abettors, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII. AND finally, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluit*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, and all others of the said first Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of *East-Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite:

XIX. AND do, in like Manner, GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to and with the said *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the said second Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Successors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, shall, by Letters-patent under the Great Seal of *England*, GIVE and GRANT unto such Persons, their Heirs, and Assigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the most Part of them, shall, for that Purpose, nominate and assign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which shall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforesaid, TO BE HOLDEN of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of *East-Greenwich* in the County of *Kent*, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite.

XX. ALL which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, so to be passed by the said several Letters-patent, shall be sufficient

Affurance from the said Patentees, so distributed and divided amongst the Undertakers for the Plantation of the said several Colonies, and such as shall make their Plantations in either of the said several Colonies, in such Manner and Form, and for such Estates, as shall be ordered and set down by the Council of the said Colony, or the most Part of them, respectively, within which the same Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments shall lye or be; Although expresse Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Knt. Sir *George Somers*, Knt. *Richard Hackluit*, *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, *Raleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, or any of them, heretofore made, in these Presents, is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents; Witness Ourselves at *Westminster*, the tenth Day of *April*, in the fourth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the nine and thirtieth.

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Per breve de privato Sigillo.

Nº. II.

King James the I.'s second Charter to the Treasurer and Company for Virginia, erecting them into a Corporation and Body Politick, and for the further Enlargement and Explanation of the Privileges of the said Company and first Colony of Virginia. Dated May 23, 1609.

I. *JAMES*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith &c. To all, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. WHEREAS, at the humble Suit and Request of sundry our loving and well disposed Subjects, intending to deduce a Colony, and to make Habitation and Plantation of sundry our People, in that Part of *America*, commonly called *VIRGINIA*, and other Parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto Us, or which are not actually possessed of any *Christian* Prince or People, within certain Bounds and Regions, We have formerly by our Letters-patents, bearing Date the tenth Day of *April*, in the fourth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the nine and thirtieth, GRANTED to Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and others, for the more speedy Accomplishment of the said Plantation and Habitation, that they should divide themselves into two Colonies (the one consisting of divers Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, of our City of *London*, called the FIRST Co-

COLONY; And the other consisting of divers Knights, Gentlemen, and others, of our Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and Town of *Plimouth*, and other Places, called the SECOND COLONY) And have yielded and granted many and sundry Privileges and Liberties to each Colony, for their quiet Settling and good Government therein, as by the said Letters-patents more at large appeareth:

II. Now, forasmuch as divers and sundry of our loving Subjects, as well Adventurers, as Planters, of the said first Colony, which have already engaged themselves in furthering the Business of the said Colony and Plantation, and do further intend, by the Assistance of Almighty God, to prosecute the same to a happy End, have of late been humble Suitors unto us, that (in Respect of their great Charges and the Adventure of many of their Lives, which they have hazarded in the said Discovery and Plantation of the said Country) We would be pleased to grant them a further Enlargement and Explanation of the said Grant, Privileges, and Liberties, and that such Counsellors, and other Officers, may be appointed amongst them, to manage and direct their Affairs, as are willing and ready to adventure with them, as also whose Dwellings are not so far remote from the City of *London*, but that they may, at convenient Times, be ready at hand, to give their Advice and Assistance, upon all Occasions requisite.

III. WE, greatly affecting the effectual Prosecution and happy Success of the said Plantation, and commending their good Desires therein, for their further Encouragement in accomplishing so excellent a Work, much pleasing to God, and profitable to our Kingdom, Do, of our special Grace, and certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, to our trusty and well beloved Subjects, *Robert*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Henry*, Earl of *Southampton*, *William*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Earl of *Dorset*, *Thomas*, Earl of *Exeter*, *Philip*, Earl of *Montgomery*, *Robert*, Lord Viscount *Lisle*, *Theophilus*, Lord *Howard of Walden*, *James Montague*, Lord Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, *Edward*, Lord *Zouche*, *Thomas*, Lord *Lawarr*, *William*, Lord *Mounteagle*, *Ralph*, Lord *Ewre*, *Edmond*, Lord *Sheffield*, *Grey*, Lord *Chandois*, Lord *Compton*, *John*, Lord *Petre*, *John*, Lord *Stanhope*, *George*, Lord *Carew*, *Sir Humphrey Weld*, Lord Mayor of *London*, *George Percie*, Esq; *Sir Edward Cecil*, Knt. *Sir George Wharton*, Knt. *Francis West*, Esq; *Sir William Wade*, Knt. *Sir Henry Nevil*, Knt. *Sir Thomas Smith*, Knt. *Sir Oliver Cromwell*, Knt. *Sir Peter Manwood*, Knt. *Sir Drue Drury*, Knt. *Sir John Scot*, Knt. *Sir Thomas Challoner*, Knt. *Sir Robert Drury*, Knt. *Sir Anthony Cope*, Knt. *Sir Horatio Vere*, Knt. *Sir Edward Conway*, Knt. *Sir William Brown*, Knt. *Sir Maurice Berkeley*, Knt. *Sir Robert Mansel*, Knt. *Sir Amias Preston*, Knt. *Sir Thomas Gates*, Knt. *Sir Anthony Ashly*, Knt. *Sir Michael Sandys*, Knt. *Sir Henry Carey*, Knt. *Sir Stephen Soame*, Knt. *Sir Calisthenes Brooke*, Knt. *Sir Edward Michelborn*, Knt. *Sir John Ratcliffe*, Knt. *Sir Charles Wilmot*, Knt. *Sir George Moor*, Knt.

K. James the I's second Charter to the

Sir Hugh Wirral, Knt. Sir Thomas Dennis, Knt. Sir John Holles, Knt. Sir William Godolphin, Knt. Sir Thomas Monjon, Knt. Sir Thomas Ridgwine, Knt. Sir John Brooke, Knt. Sir Robert Killigrew, Knt. Sir Henry Peyton, Knt. Sir Richard Williamson, Knt. Sir Ferdinando Weynman, Knt. Sir William St. John, Knt. Sir Thomas Holcroft, Knt. Sir John Mallory, Knt. Sir Roger Ashton, Knt. Sir Walter Cope, Knt. Sir Richard Wigmore, Knight, Sir William Coke, Knight, Sir Herbert Crofte, Knt. Sir Henry Fanshawe, Knt. Sir John Smith, Knt. Sir Francis Wolley, Knt. Sir Edward Waterhouse, Knt. Sir Henry Seekford, Knt.* Sir Edwin Sandys, Knt. Sir Thomas Waynam, Knt. Sir John Trevor, Knt. Sir Warwick Heele, Knt. Sir Robert Wroth, Knt. Sir John Townsend, Knt. Sir Christopeer Perkins, Knt. Sir Daniel Dun, Knt. Sir Henry Hobart, Knt. Sir Francis Bacon, Knt. Sir Henry Montague, Knt. Sir George Coppin, Knt. Sir Samuel Sandys, Knt. Sir Thomas Roe, Knt. Sir George Somers, Knt. Sir Thomas Freake, Knt. Sir Thomas Harwell, Knt. Sir Charles Kelke, Knt. Sir Baptist Hicks, Knt. Sir John Watts, Knt. Sir Robert Carey, Knt. Sir William Romney, Knt. Sir Thomas Middleton, Knt. Sir Hatton Cheeke, Knt. Sir John Ogle, Knt. Sir Cavallero Meycot, Knt. Sir Stephen Riddleston, Knt. Sir Thomas Bludder, Knt. Sir Anthony Aucher, Knt. Sir Robert Johnson, Knt. Sir Thomas Panton, Knt. Sir Charles Morgan, Knt. Sir Stephen Pole, Knt. Sir John Burlacie, Knt. Sir Christopher Cleave, Knt. Sir George Hayward, Knt. Sir Thomas Davis, Knt. Sir Thomas Sutton, Knt. Sir Anthony Forest, Knt. Sir Robert Payne, Knt. Sir John Digby, Knt. Sir Dudley Digges, Knt. Sir Rowland Cotton, Knt. Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dr. Meadows, Dr. Turner, Dr. Poe, Capt. Pagnam, Capt. Jeffrey Holcrofte, Captain Romney, Captain Henry Spry, Captain Shelton, Captain Sparks, Captain Thomas Wyat, Captain Brinsly, Captain William Courtney, Captain Herbert, Captain Clarke, Captain Dewhurst, Captain John Blundell, Captain Fryer, Captain Lewis Orwell, Captain Edward Loyd, Captain Slingsby, Captain Hawley, Captain Orme, Captain Woodhouse, Captain Mason, Captain Thomas Holcroft, Captain John Coke, Captain Holles, Captain William Proude, Captain Henry Woodhouse, Captain Richard Lindesey, Captain Dexter, Captain William Winter, Captain Pearse, Captain John Bingham, Captain Burray, Captain Thomas Conway, Captain Rookwood, Captain William Lovelace, Captain John Ashley, Captain Thomas Wynne, Captain Thomas Mewtis, Captain Edward Harwood, Captain Michael Everard, Captain Comock, Captain Mills, Captain Pigot, Captain Edward-Maria Wingfield, Captain

* The Adventurers Names are vastly confused and different in the different M. S. Copies of this Charter. I chose the two fairest and most correct Copies, that I had met with, to transcribe this from; and altho' they both agree in writing this Name, Sir Edward Sandis, or Sandis, yet they are both certainly wrong, as might be easily proved, were it worth while, and would not be too tedious. I was also much puzzled to adjust and set right others of the Names; and altho' I was at no small Pains in collating the Copies, and in consulting and referring to other ancient Letters Patents and Papers, yet I will not affirm that I am not often mistaken. But however erroneous and perplexed the Names of the Adventurers may be, yet I found the main Body, and material Parts, of the Charter, very clear, full, and correct.

Christopher

Christopher Newport, Captain John Sicklemore, alias Ratcliffe, Captain John Smith, Captain John Martin, Captain Peter Wynne, Captain Waldoe, Captain Thomas Wood, Captain Thomas Button, George Bolls, Esq; Sheriff of London, William Crasshaw, Clerk, Batchelor of Divinity, William Seabright, Esq; Christopher Brooke, Esq; John Bingley, Esq; Thomas Watson, Esq; Richard Percival, Esq; John Moore, Esq; Hugh Brooker, Esq; David Woodhouse, Esq; Anthony Aucher, Esq; Robert Bowyer, Esq; Ralph Ewens, Esq; Zachary Jones, Esq; George Calvert, Esq; William Dobson, Esq; Henry Reynolds, Esq; Thomas Walker, Esq; Anthony Barnars, Esq; Thomas Sandys, Esq; Henry Sandys, Esq; Richard Sandys, Esq; Son of Sir Edwin Sandys, William Oxenbridge, Esq; John Moore, Esq; Thomas Wilson, Esq; John Bullock, Esq; John Waller, Esq; Thomas Webb, Jehu Robinson, William Brewster, Robert Evelyn, Henry Danby, Richard Hacklitt, Minister, John Eldred, Merchant, William Russel, Merchant, John Merrick, Merchant, Richard Banister, Merchant, Charles Anthony, Goldsmith, John Banks, William Evans, Richard Humble, Richard Chamberlayne, Merchant, Thomas Barber, Merchant, Richard Pomet, Merchant, John Fletcher, Merchant, Thomas Nicholls, Merchant, John Stoke, Merchant, Gabriel Archer, Francis Covel, William Bonham, Edward Harrison, John Wolstenholme, Nicholas Salter, Hugh Evans, William Barnes, Otho Mawdet, Richard Staper, Merchant, John Elkin, Merchant, William Coyse, Thomas Perkin, Cooper, Humphry James, Cooper, Henry Jackson, Robert Singleton, Christopher Nicholls, John Harper, Abraham Chamberlayne, Thomas Shipton, Thomas Carpenter, Anthony Crew, George Holman, Robert Hill, Cleophas Smith, Ralph Harrison, John Farmer, James Brearley, William Crosby, Richard Cox, John Gearing, Richard Strongarm, Ironmongers, Thomas Langton, Griffith Hinton, Richard Ironside, Richard Dean, Richard Turner, William Lawson, Mercer, James Chatfield, Edward Allen Tedder, Robert Hildebrand Sprinpson, Arthur Mause, John Gardiner, James Russel, Richard Caswell, Richard Evans, John Hawkins, Richard Kerril, Richard Brooke, Matthew Scrivener, Gentleman, William Stallenge, Gentleman, Arthur Venn, Gentleman, Sandys Webbe, Gentleman, Michael Phettiplace, Gentleman, William Phettiplace, Gentleman, Ambrose Prusey, Gentleman, John Taverner, Gentleman, George Pretty, Gentleman, Peter Latham, Gentleman, Thomas Montford, Gentleman, William Cantrel, Gentleman, Richard Wiffin, Gentleman, Ralph Moreton, Gentleman, John Cornelius, Martin Freeman, Ralph Freeman, Andrew Moore, Thomas White, Edward Perkin, Robert Offley, Thomas Whitley, George Pit, Robert Parkhurst, Thomas Morris, Peter Harloe, Jeffry Duppa, John Gilbert, William Hancock, Matthew Brown, Francis Tyrrel, Randal Carter, Othowell Smith, Thomas Hamond, Martin Bond, Haberdasher, John Moulfoe, Robert Johnson, William Young, John Woodal, William Felgate, Humfrey Westwood, Richard Champion, Henry Robinson, Francis Mapes, William Sambach, Raleigh Crasshaw, Daniel Tucker, Thomas Grave, Hugh Willeston, Thomas Culpepper, of Wigfel, Esq; John Culpepper, Gentleman, Henry Lee, John Kirton, Gentleman, John Pory, Gentleman, Henry Collins, George Burton, William Atkinson,

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Atkinson, Thomas Forest, John Russel, John Holt, Harman Har-
 rison, Gabriel Beedel, John Beedel, Henry Dawkes, George Scot,
 Edward Fleetwood, Gentleman, Richard Rogers, Gentleman, Ar-
 thur Robinson, Robert Robinson, John Huntley, John Gray, Wil-
 liam Payne, William Field, William Wattey, William Webster,
 John Dingley, Thomas Draper, Richard Glanvil, Arnold Hulls,
 Henry Roe, William More, Nicholas Gryce, James Monger, Ni-
 cholas Andrews, Jeremy Haydon, Ironmonger, Philip Durette,
 John Quarles, John West, Matthew Springham, John Johnson,
 Christopher Hore, Thomas Snead, George Berkeley, Arthur Pet,
 Thomas Careles, William Berkeley, Thomas Johnson, Alexander
 Bents, Captain William King, George Sandys, Gentleman, James
 White, Gentleman, Edmond Wynne, Charles Towler, Richard Rey-
 nold, Edward Webb, Richard Maplesden, Thomas Lever, David
 Bourne, Thomas Wood, Ralph Hamer, Edward Barnes, Mercer,
 John Wright, Mercer, Robert Middleton, Edward Littlefield, Ka-
 tharine West, Thomas Web, Ralph King, Robert Coppin, James Af-
 kew, Christopher Holt, William Bardwell, Alexander Chiles, Lewis
 Tate, Edward Ditchfield, James Swift, Richard Widdowes, Gold-
 smith, Edmond Brudenell, Edward Burwell, John Hansford, Edward
 Wooller, William Palmer, Haberdasher, John Badger, John Hodg-
 son, Peter Mounsel, John Carril, John Bushridge, Wm. Dun, Tho-
 mas Johnson, Nicholas Benson, Thomas Shipton, Nathaniel Wade,
 Randal Wetwood, Matthew Dequester, Charles Hawkins, Hugh
 Hamersley, Abraham Cartwright, George Bennet, William Cater,
 Richard Goddart, Henry Cromwell, Phineas Pet, Robert Cooper,
 John Cooper, Henry Newce, Edward Wilkes, Robert Bateman, Ni-
 cholas Farrar, John Newhouse, John Cason, Thomas Harris, Gen-
 tleman, George Etheridge, Gentleman, Thomas Mayle, Gentleman,
 Richard Stafford, Thomas , Richard Cooper, John West-
 row, Edward Welch, Thomas Britain, Thomas Knowles, Octa-
 vian Thorne, Edmond Smith, John March, Edward Carew, Tho-
 mas Pleydall, Richard Let, Miles Palmer, Henry Price, John Jo-
 shua, Gentleman, William Clauday, Jeremy earfye, John Bree,
 Gentleman, William Hampson, Christopher Pickford, Thomas Hunt,
 Thomas Truiston, Christopher Salmon, John Howard, Clerk, Rich-
 ard Partridge, Allen Cassen, Felix Wilson, Thomas Bathurst, George
 Wilmer, Andrew Wilmer, Maurice Lewellin, Thomas Godwin,
 Peter Burgoyne, Thomas Burgoyne, Robert Burgoyne, Robert Smith,
 Merchant-taylor, Edward Cage, Grocer, Thomas Cannon, Gen-
 tleman, William Welby, Stationer, Clement Wilmer, Gentleman,
 John Clapham, Gentleman, Giles Francis, Gentleman, George
 Walker, Sadler, John Swinhow, Stationer, Edward Bishop, Sta-
 tioner, Leonard White, Gentleman, Christopher Baron, Peter Ben-
 son, Richard Smith, George Proctor, Minister, Millicent Ramfden,
 Widow, Joseph Soane, Thomas Hinchaw, John Baker, Robert
 Thornton, John Davis, Edward Facet, George Newce, Gentleman,
 John Robinson, Captain Thomas Wood, William Brown, Shoema-
 ker, Robert Barker, Shoemaker, Robert Pennington, Francis Bur-
 ley, Minister, William Quick, Grocer, Edward Lewis, Grocer,
 Laurence Campe, Draper, Aden Perkins, Grocer, Richard Shepherd,
 Preacher, William Sherley, Haberdasher, William Taylor, Haber-
 dasher,

dasher, Edwin Lukin, Gentleman, John Franklyn, Haberdasher,
 John Southwick, Peter Peate, George Johan, Ironmonger, George
 Yeardeley, Gentleman, Henry Shelley, John Prat, Thomas Church,
 Draper, William Powel, Gentleman, Richard Frith, Gentleman,
 Thomas Wheeler, Draper, Francis Haselrig, Gentleman, Hugh
 Shipley, Gentleman, John Andrews the Elder, Doctor of Cam-
 bridge, Francis Whistler, Gentleman, John Vassal, Gentleman,
 Richard Howle, Edward Berkeley, Gentleman, Richard Keneridg-
 burg, Gentleman, Nicholas Exton, Draper, William Bennet, Fish-
 monger, James Haywood, Merchant, Nicholas Isaac, Merchant,
 William Gibbs, Merchant, Bishop, Bernard Mitchel, Isaac
 Mitchel, John Streate, Edward Gall, John Martin, Gentleman,
 Thomas Fox, Luke Lodge, John Woodliffe, Gentleman, Richard
 Webb, Vincent Low, Samuel Burnham, Edmund Pears, Haber-
 dasher, John Googe, John St. John, Edward Vaughan, William
 Dunn, Thomas Alcocke, John Andrews the Younger, of Cam-
 bridge, Samuel Smith, Thomas Gerrard, Thomas Whittingham,
 William Canning, Paul Canning, George Chandler, Henry Vincent,
 Thomas Ketley, James Skelton, James Mountaine, George Webb,
 Gentleman, Joseph Newbridge, Smith, Josiah Mand, Cap-
 tain Ralph Hamer, the Younger, Edward Brewster, the Son of
William Brewster, Leonard Harwood, Mercer, Philip Druerdent,
 William Carpenter, Tristian Hill, Robert Cock, Grocer, Laurence
 Green, Grocer, Samuel Winch, Grocer, Humphrey Stile, Grocer,
 Aerie Dransfield, Grocer, Edward Hodges, Grocer, Edward
 Beale, Grocer, Thomas Culler, Grocer, Ralph Busby, Grocer,
 John Whittingham, Grocer, John Hide, Grocer, Matthew
 Shepherd, Grocer, Thomas Allen, Grocer, Richard Hooker, Gro-
 cer, Lawrence Munks, Grocer, John Tanner, Grocer, Peter
 Gate, Grocer, John Blunt, Grocer, Robert Phips, Grocer, Ro-
 bert Berrisford, Grocer, Thomas Wells, Grocer, John Ellis,
 Grocer, Henry Colthurst, Grocer, John Cavady, Grocer, Thomas
 Jennings, Grocer, Edmond Pashall, Grocer, Timothy Bathurst,
 Grocer, Giles Parslow, Grocer, Robert Milmay, Grocer, Richard
 Johnson, Grocer, William Johnson, Vintner, Ezekiel Smith,
 Richard Martin, William Sharpe, Robert Rich, William Stan-
 nard, Innholder, John Stocken, William Strachey, Gentleman,
 George Farmer, Gentleman, Thomas Gypes, Clothworker, Abra-
 ham Davies, Gentleman, Thomas Brocket, Gentleman, George
 Bache, Fishmonger, John Dike, Fishmonger, Henry Spranger,
 Richard Farrington, Christopher Vertue, Vintner, Thomas Bayley,
 Vintner, George Robins, Vintner, Tobias Hinson, Grocer, Vrian
 Spencer, Clement Chicheley, John Scarpe, Gentleman, James
 Campbell, Ironmonger, Christopher Clitheroe, Ironmonger, Philip
 Jacobson, Peter Jacobson, of Antwerp, William Berkeley, Miles
 Banks, Cutler, Peter Higgons, Grocer, Henry John, Gentleman,
 John Stokeley, Merchant-taylor, The Company of Mercers, the
 Company of Grocers, the Company of Drapers, the Company
 Fishmongers, the Company of Goldsmiths, the Company of
 Skinners, the Company of Merchant-taylers, the Company of
 Haberdashers, the Company of Salters, the Company of Iron-
 mongers, the Company of Vintners, the Company Clothworkers,

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the Company of Dyers, the Company of Brewers, the Company of Leatherfellers, the Company of Pewterers, the Company of Cutlers, the Company of Whitebakers, the Company of Wax-Chandlers, the Company of Tallow-Chandlers, the Company of Armorers, the Company of Girdlers, the Company of Butchers, the Company of Sadlers, the Company of Carpenters, the Company of Cordwayners, the Company of Barber-Chirurgeons, the Company of Paintstainers, the Company of Curriers, the Company of Masons, the Company of Plumbers, the Company Inholders, the Company of Founders, the Company of Poulterers, the Company of Cooks, the Company of Coopers, the Company of Tylers and Bricklayers, the Company of Bowyers, the Company of Fletchers, the Company of Blacksmiths, the Company of Joiners, the Company of Weavers, the Company of Woolmen, the Company of Woodmongers, the Company of Scriveners, the Company of Fruiterers, the Company of Plaisters, the Company of Brownbakers, the Company of Stationers, the Company of Imbroiderers, the Company of Upholsters, the Company of Musicians, the Company of Turners, the Company of Gardiners, the Company of Basketmakers, the Company of Glaziers, *John Levet*, Merchant, *Thomas Norricot*, Clothworker, *Richard Venn*, Haberdasher, *Thomas Scot*, Gentleman, *Thomas Fuxon*, Merchant-taylor, *George Hankinsohn*, *Thomas Seyer*, Gentleman, *Matthew Cooper*, *George Butler*, Gentleman, *Thomas Lawson*, Gentleman, *Edward Smith*, Haberdasher, *Stephen Sparrow*, *John Jones*, Merchant, *Reynolds*, Brewer, *Thomas Plummer*, Merchant, *James Duppa*, Brewer, *Rowland Coitmore*, *William Southerne*, *George Whitmore*, Haberdasher, *Anthony Gofnold*, the Younger, *John Allen*, Fishmonger, *Simon Yeomans*, Fishmonger, *Lancelot Davis*, Gentlemen, *John Hopkins*, Alderman of *Bristol*, *John Kettleby*, Gentleman, *Richard Clene*, Goldsmith, *George Hooker*, Gentleman, *Robert Chening*, Yeoman; AND to such, and so many, as they do, or shall hereafter, admit to be joined with them, in Form hereafter in these Presents expressed, whether they go in their Persons, to be Planters there in the said Plantation, or whether they go not, but adventure their Monies, Goods, or Chattels; THAT they shall be one Body or Commonalty perpetual, and shall have perpetual Succession, and one Common Seal, to serve for the said Body or Commonalty; And that they, and their Successors, shall be KNOWN, CALLED, and INCORPORATED by the Name of, *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia*:

IV. AND that they, and their Successors, shall be, from henceforth, for ever enabled to TAKE, ACQUIRE, and PURCHASE, by the Name aforesaid (Licence for the same, from Us, our Heirs or Successors, first had and obtained) any Manner of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, within our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*:

V. AND that they, and their Successors, shall likewise be enabled, by the Name aforesaid, to PLEAD, and BE IMPLEADED, before any of our Judges or Justices, in any of our Courts, and in any Actions or Suits whatsoever.

VI.

VI. AND we do also, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, under the Reservations, Limitations, and Declarations, hereafter expressed, all those Lands, Countries, and Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of *America* called VIRGINIA, from the Point of Land, called *Cape* or *Point Comfort*, all along the Sea Coast, to the *Northward* two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of *Cape Comfort*, all along the Sea Coast, to the *Southward* two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, *West*, and *Northwest*; And also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both Seas of the Precinct aforesaid; Together with all the Soils, Grounds, Havens, and Ports, Mines, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Minerals, Pearls, and precious Stones, Quarries, Woods, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Preheminences, within the said Territories, and the Precincts thereof, whatsoever, and thereto and thereabouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any sort belonging or appertaining, and which We, by our Letters Patents, may or can grant, in as ample Manner and Sort, as We, or any our noble Progenitors, have heretofore granted to any Company, Body politick or corporate, or to any Adventurer, or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Discoveries, Plantations, or Traffick, of in or into any foreign Parts whatsoever, and in as large and ample Manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, possess and enjoy, all and singular the said Lands, Countries, and Territories, with all and singular other the Premises, heretofore by these Presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to them, the said Treasurer and Company, their Successors and Assigns for ever; To the sole and proper Use of them, the said Treasurer and Company, their Successors and Assigns for ever; TO BE HOLDEN OF Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manour of *East-Greenwich*, in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite; YIELDING and PAYING, therefore, to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, the fifth Part only of all Ore of Gold and Silver, that, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be there gotten, had, or obtained, for all Manner of Services.

VII. AND nevertheless, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, charge, command, warrant, and authorise, that the said Treasurer and Company, or their Successors, or the major Part of them, which shall be present and assembled for that Purpose, shall, from time to time, under their Common Seal, DISTRIBUTE, convey, assign, and set over, such particular Portions of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, by these Presents, formerly granted, unto such our loving Subjects, naturally born, or Denizens, or others, as well Adventurers as Planters, as by the said Company (upon a Commission of Survey and Distribution, executed and returned for that Purpose) shall be nominated, appointed, and allowed; Wherein our Will and Pleasure is, that

Respect be had, as well of the Proportion of the Adventurer, as to the special Service, Hazard, Exploit, or Merit of any Person, so to be recompensed, advanced, or rewarded.

VIII. AND forasmuch, as the good and prosperous Success of the said Plantation cannot but chiefly depend, next under the Blessing of God, and the Support of our Royal Authority, upon the provident and good Direction of the whole Enterprize, by a careful and understanding Council, and that it is not convenient, that all the Adventurers shall be so often drawn to meet and assemble, as shall be requisite for them to have Meetings and Conference about the Affairs thereof; Therefore we do ORDAIN, establish, and confirm, that there shall be perpetually one COUNCIL here resident, according to the Tenour of our former Letters-patents; Which Council shall have a Seal, for the better Government and Administration of the said Plantation, besides the legal Seal of the Company or Corporation, as in our former Letters-patents is also expressed.

IX. AND further, we ESTABLISH and ORDAIN, that *Henry, Earl of Southampton, William, Earl of Pembroke, Henry, Earl of Lincoln, Thomas, Earl of Exeter, Robert, Lord Viscount Lisle, Lord Theophilus Howard, James, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Edward, Lord Zouche, Thomas, Lord Lawarr, William, Lord Monteagle, Edmond, Lord Sheffield, Grey, Lord Chandois, John, Lord Stanhope, George, Lord Carew, Sir Humfrey, Weld, Lord Mayor of London, Sir Edward Cecil, Sir William Wade, Sir Henry Nevil, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Peter Manwood, Sir Thomas Challoner, Sir Henry Hobart, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir George Coppin, Sir John Scot, Sir Henry Carey, Sir Robert Drury, Sir Horatio Vere, Sir Edward Conway, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Michael Sandys, Sir Robert Mansel, Sir John Trevor, Sir Amias Preston, Sir William Godolphin, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Robert Killigrew, Sir Henry Fanshawe, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Watts, Sir Henry Montague, Sir William Romney, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Baptist Hicks, Sir Richard Williamson, Sir Stephen Poole, Sir Dudley Digges, Christopher Brooke, Esq; John Eldred, and John Wolstenholme*, shall be our Council for the said Company of Adventurers and Planters in *Virginia*.

X. AND the said *Sir Thomas Smith* we do ORDAIN to be Treasurer of the said Company; which Treasurer shall have Authority to give Order, for the Warning of the Council, and summoning the Company, to their Courts and Meetings.

XI. AND the said Council and Treasurer, or any of them, shall be from henceforth, nominated, chosen, continued, displaced, changed, altered, and supplied, as Death, or other several Occasions, shall require, out of the Company of the said Adventurers, by the Voice of the greater Part of the said Company and Adventurers, in their Assembly for that Purpose: PROVIDED always, that every Counsellor, so newly elected, shall be presented to the Lord Chancellor of *England*, or to the Lord High Treasurer of *England*, or to the Lord Chamberlain of the Household of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, for the time being,

to take his Oath of a Counsellor to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, for the said Company of Adventurers and Colony in *Virginia*.

XII. AND we do, by these Presents, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, GRANT unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that if it happen, at any time or times, the Treasurer for the time being to be sick, or to have any such Cause of Absence from the City of *London*, as shall be allowed by the said Council, or the greater Part of them, assembled, so as he cannot attend the Affairs of that Company, in every such Case, it shall and may be lawful for such Treasurer for the time being, to assign, constitute and appoint, one of the Council or Company, to be likewise allowed by the Council, or the greater Part of them, assembled, to be the Deputy Treasurer of the said Company; Which Deputy shall have Power, to do and execute all things, which belong to the said Treasurer, during such time, as such Treasurer shall be either sick, or otherwise absent upon Cause allowed of by the said Council, or the major Part of them, as aforesaid, so fully and wholly, and in as large and ample Manner and Form, to all Intents and Purposes, as the said Treasurer, if he were present, himself might or could do and execute the same.

XIII. AND further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, we do, by these Presents, GIVE and GRANT full Power and Authority to our said Council, here resident, as well at this present Time, as hereafter from time to time, to nominate, make, constitute, ordain, and confirm, by such Name or Names, Stile or Stiles, as to them shall seem good, And likewise to revoke, discharge, change, and alter, as well all and singular Governors, Officers, and Ministers, which already have been made, as also which hereafter shall be by them thought fit and needful to be made or used, for the Government of the said Colony and Plantation:

XIV. AND also to make, ordain, and establish all Manner of Orders, Laws, Directions, Instructions, Forms, and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy, fit and necessary, for and concerning the Government of the said Colony and Plantation; And the same, at all times hereafter, to abrogate, revoke, or change, not only within the Precincts of the said Colony, but also upon the Seas in going and coming, to and from the said Colony, as they, in their good Discretion, shall think to be fittest for the Good of the Adventurers and Inhabitants there.

XV. AND we do also declare, that, for divers Reasons and Considerations us thereunto especially moving, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby ORDAIN, that immediately from and after such time, as any such Governor or principal Officer, so to be nominated and appointed, by our said Council, for the Government of the said Colony, as aforesaid, shall arrive in *Virginia*, and give Notice unto the Colony there resident of our Pleasure in this Behalf, the Government, Power, and Authority of the President and Council, heretofore by our former Letters Patents there established, and all Laws and Constitutions, by them formerly

merly made, shall utterly cease and be determined, And all Officers, Governors, and Ministers, formerly constituted or appointed, shall be discharged, any thing, in our said former Letters Patents concerning the said Plantation contained, in any wise to the contrary notwithstanding; Straightly charging and commanding the President and Council, now resident in the said Colony, upon their Allegiance, after Knowledge given unto them of our Will and Pleasure, by these Presents signified and declared, that they forthwith be obedient to such Governor or Governors, as by our said Council, here resident, shall be named and appointed, as aforesaid, and to all Directions, Orders, and Commandments, which they shall receive from them, as well in the present Resigning and Giving up of their Authority, Offices, Charge, and Places, as in all other Attendance, as shall be by them, from time to time, required.

XVI. AND we do further, by these Presents, ORDAIN and establish, that the said Treasurer and Council here resident, and their Successors, or any four of them, being assembled (the Treasurer being one) shall, from time to time, have full Power and Authority, to admit and receive any other Person into their Company, Corporation, and Freedom; And further, in a General Assembly of the Adventurers, with the Consent of the greater Part, upon good Cause, to disfranchise and put out any Person or Persons, out of the said Freedom and Company.

XVII. AND we do also GRANT and confirm, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that it shall be lawful for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, by Direction of the Governors there, to dig and to search for all Manner of Mines or Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead, Tin, and all Sorts of Minerals, as well within the Precinct aforesaid, as within any Part of the main Land, not formerly granted to any other; And to HAVE and ENJOY the Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Lead, and Tin, and all other Minerals, to be gotten thereby, to the Use and Behoof of the said Company of Planters and Adventurers; YIELDING thereof, and paying Yearly, unto Us, our Heirs and Successors, as aforesaid.

XVIII. AND we do further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT, by these Presents, to and with the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that it shall be lawful and free for them, and their Assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of our Realm of *England*, and out of all other our Dominions, to take and lead into the said Voyages, and for and towards the said Plantation, and to travel thitherwards, and to abide and inhabit there in the said Colony and Plantation, all such and so many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers, that will become our loving Subjects and live under our Obedience, as shall willingly accompany them in the said Voyage and Plantation; With sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Victuals, and such Merchandises or Wares, as are esteemed by the wild People in those Parts, Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Cattle, Horses, and
Mares,

Mares, and all other things, necessary for the said Plantation, and for their Use, and Defence, and Trade with the People there; and in passing and returning to and fro; Without yielding or paying Subsidy, Custom, Imposition, or any other Tax or Duty, to Us, our Heirs or Successors, for the Space of seven Years from the Date of these Presents: PROVIDED, that none of the said Persons be such, as shall be hereafter, by especial Name, restrained by Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

XIX. AND for their further Encouragement, of our special Grace and Favour, we do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, YIELD and GRANT, to and with the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every of them, their Factors, and Assigns, that they, and every of them, shall be free of all Subsidies and Customs in *Virginia*, for the Space of one and twenty Years, and from all Taxes and Impositions, for ever, upon any Goods or Merchandises, at any time or times hereafter, either upon Importation thither, or Exportation from thence, into our Realm of *England*, or into any other of our Realms or Dominions, by the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, their Deputies, Factors, or Assigns, or any of them: EXCEPT only the five Pounds *per Cent.* due for Custom, upon all such Goods and Merchandises, as shall be brought or imported into our Realm of *England*, or any other of these our Dominions, according to the ancient Trade of Merchants; WHICH FIVE POUNDS *per Cent.* ONLY being paid, it shall be thenceforth lawful and free for the said Adventurers, the same Goods and Merchandises to export, and carry out of our said Dominions, into foreign Parts, without any Custom, Tax, or other Duty, to be paid to us, our Heirs, or Successors, or to any other our Officers or Deputies: PROVIDED, that the said Goods and Merchandises be shipped out, within thirteen Months, after their first Landing within any Part of those Dominions.

XX. AND we do also GRANT and confirm to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, as also to all and every such Governor, or other Officers and Ministers, as by our said Council shall be appointed to have Power and Authority of Government and Command, in or over the said Colony and Plantation; That they, and every of them, shall and lawfully may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their several Defence and Safety, encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, by Force and Arms, as well by Sea as by Land, and all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person and Persons whatsoever, as (without the special Licence of the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors) shall attempt to inhabit, within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said Colony and Plantation; And also, all and every such Person and Persons whatsoever, as shall enterprise or attempt, at any time hereafter, Destruction, Invasion, Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, to the said Colony and Plantation, as is likewise specified in the said former Grant:

XXI. AND that it shall be lawful for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every of them, from time to time,

K. *James* the I.'s second Charter to the

time, and at all times for ever hereafter, and they shall have full Power and Authority, to take and surprize, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every Person and Persons whatsoever, with their Ships, Goods, and other Furniture, trafficking in any Harbour, Creek, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the said Colony and Plantation, * not being allowed by the said Company to be Adventurers or Planters of the said Colony, until such time, as they, being of any Realms and Dominions under our Obedience, shall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treasurer or of some other Officer, deputed by the said Governor of *Virginia* (over and above such Subsidy and Custom, as the said Company is, or hereafter shall be, to pay) five Pounds *per Cent.* upon all Goods and Merchandises so brought in thither, and also five *per Cent.* upon all Goods by them shipped out from thence; And being Strangers, and not under our Obedience, until they have paid (over and above such Subsidy and Custom, as the said Treasurer and Company, or their Successors, is, or hereafter shall be, to pay) ten Pounds *per Cent.* upon all such Goods, likewise carried in and out, any thing, in the said former Letters Patents, to the contrary notwithstanding; And the same SUMS of MONEY and Benefit, as aforesaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, shall be wholly employed to the Benefit, Use, and Behoof of the said Colony and Plantation; And after the said one and twenty Years ended, the same shall be taken to the Use of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, by such Officers and Ministers, as by Us, our Heirs, or Successors, shall be thereunto assigned and appointed, as is specified in the said former Letters Patents.

XXII. ALSO, we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall go and inhabit within the said Colony and Plantation, and every of their Children and Posterity, which shall happen to be born within any the Limits thereof, shall HAVE AND ENJOY all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities of free Denizens and natural Subjects, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of *England*, or in any other of our Dominions.

XXIII. AND forasmuch, as it shall be necessary for all such our loving Subjects, as shall inhabit within the said Precincts of *Virginia*, aforesaid, to determine to live together, in the Fear and true Worship of Almighty God, Christian Peace, and civil Quietness, each with other, whereby every one may, with more Safety, Pleasure, and Profit, enjoy that, whereunto they shall attain with great Pain and Peril; We, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these Presents, do GIVE and GRANT unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and to such Governors, Officers, and Mi-

* It is *and being* in the Original; but the Sense carried me so clearly to it, that I ventured to make this Correction, letting the Reader at the same time know it.

Ministers, as shall be, by our said Council, constituted and appointed, according to the Natures and Limits of their Offices and Places respectively, that they shall and may, from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said Precincts of *Virginia*, or in the Way by ‡ Sea thither and from thence, have full and absolute Power and Authority, to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, all such the Subjects of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as shall, from time to time, adventure themselves in any Voyage thither, or that shall, at any time hereafter, inhabit in the Precincts and Territories of the said Colony, as aforesaid, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by our said Council, as aforesaid, shall be established; And in Defect thereof, in case of Necessity, according to the good † Discretions of the said Governor and Officers, respectively, as well in Cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine and other; So always, as the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government, and Policy of this our Realm of *England*.

XXIV. AND we do further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, GRANT, DECLARE, and ORDAIN, that such principal Governor, as, from time to time, shall duly and lawfully be authorized and appointed, in Manner and Form in these Presents heretofore expressed, shall have full Power and Authority, to use and exercise Martial Law, in Cases of Rebellion or Mutiny, in as large and ample Manner, as our Lieutenants in our * Counties, within this our Realm of *England*, have, or ought to have, by Force of their Commissions of Lieutenancy.

XXV. AND furthermore, if any Person or Persons, Adventurers or Planters of the said Colony, or any other, at any time or times hereafter, shall transport any Monies, Goods, or Merchandises, out of any of our Kingdoms, with a Pretence or Purpose, to land, sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, within the Limits or Bounds of the said Colony, and yet nevertheless, being at Sea, or after he hath landed within any Part of the said Colony, shall carry the same into any other foreign Country, with a Purpose there to sell and dispose thereof; That then, all the Goods and Chattels of the said Person, or Persons, so offending and transported, together with the Ship or Vessel, wherein such Transportation was made, shall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs and Successors.

XXVI. AND further, our Will and Pleasure is, that in all Questions and Doubts, that shall arise, upon any Difficulty of Construction or Interpretation of any thing, contained either in this or in our said former Letters Patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial Manner for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every Member thereof.

‡ M. S. Seas.

† M. S. Directions.

* M. S. Countryes.

King *James* the I.'s second Charter to the *Sc.*

XXVII. AND further, we do, by these Presents, RATIFY and CONFIRM unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, all the Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, and Immunities, granted in our said former Letters Patents, and not in these our Letters Patents revoked, altered, changed, or abridged.

XXVIII. AND finally, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do further, hereby, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GRANT and agree, to and with the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, that all and singular Person and Persons, which shall, at any time or times hereafter, adventure any Sum or Sums of Money, in and towards the said Plantation of the said Colony in *Virginia*, and shall be admitted, by the said Council and Company, as Adventurers of the said Colony, in Form aforesaid, and shall be enrolled in the Book or Records of the Adventurers of the said Company, shall and may be accounted, accepted, taken, held, and reputed, Adventurers of the said Colony, and shall and may enjoy all and singular Grants, Privileges, Liberties, Benefits, Profits, Commodities, and Immunities, Advantages, and Emoluments, whatsoever, as fully, largely, amply, and absolutely, as if they, and every of them, had been precisely, plainly singularly, and distinctly, named and inserted in these our Letters Patents.

XXIX. AND lastly, because the principal Effect, which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and Christian Religion, in which Respect we should be loath, that any Person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the Church of *Rome*; We do hereby DECLARE, that it is our Will and Pleasure, that none be permitted to pass in any Voyage, from time to time to be made into the said Country, but such, as first shall have taken the Oath of Supremacy; For which Purpose, we do, by these Presents, give full Power and Authority, to the Treasurer for the time being, and any three of the Council, to tender and exhibit the said Oath, to all such Persons, as shall, at any time, be sent and employed in the said Voyage. ALTHOUGH express Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Treasurer and Company heretofore made, in these Presents is not made; Or any Act, Statute, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restriction, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other Thing, Cause, or Matter, whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS whereof, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness ourself at *Westminster*, the 23d Day of *May*, in the seventh Year of our Reign of *England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland* the ****

Per ipsum Regem

Lukin.

N^o. III.

A third Charter of K. James I. to the Treasurer and Company for Virginia. Dated March 12, 1611-2.

I. *JAMES*, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; To all, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. WHEREAS, at the humble Suit of divers and fundry our loving Subjects, as well Adventurers as Planters of the first Colony in *Virginia*, and for the Propagation of *Christian* Religion, and reclaiming of People barbarous to Civility and Humanity, We have, by our Letters Patents, bearing Date, at *Westminster*, the three and twentieth Day of *May*, in the seventh Year of our Reign of *England, France, and Ireland*, and the two and fortieth of *Scotland*, GIVEN and GRANTED unto them, that they, and all such and so many of our loving Subjects, as should, from time to time for ever after, be joined with them, as Planters or Adventurers in the said Plantation, and their Successors, for ever, should be one Body politick, incorporated by the Name of, *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia*;

II. AND whereas also, for the greater Good and Benefit of the said Company, and for the better Furtherance, Strengthening, and Establishing of the said Plantation, we did further GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, by our said Letters Patents, unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, all those Lands, Countries, or Territories, situate, lying, and being, in that Part of *America* called *VIRGINIA*, from the Point of Land, called *Cape or Point Comfort*, all along the Sea Coasts, to the *Northward*, two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of *Cape Comfort*, all along the Sea Coast, to the *Southward*, two hundred Miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct aforesaid, up or into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, *West* and *Northwest*, and also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both the Seas of the Precinct aforesaid, with divers other Grants, Liberties, Franchises, and Preheminences, Privileges, Profits, Benefits, and Commodities, granted, in and by our said Letters Patents, to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever:

III. Now, forasmuch as we are given to understand, that in those Seas, adjoining to the said Coasts of *Virginia*, and without the Compass of those two hundred Miles, by Us so granted unto the said Treasurer and Company, as aforesaid, and yet not far distant from the said Colony in *Virginia*, there are, or may be, divers Islands, lying desolate and uninhabited, some of which are already made known and discovered, by the Industry, Travel,

and Expences of the said Company, and others also are supposed to be and remain, as yet, unknown and undiscovered, all and every of which it may import the said Colony, both in Safety and Policy of Trade, to populate and plant, in Regard whereof, as well for the preventing of Peril, as for the better Commodity and Prosperity of the said Colony, they have been humble Suitors unto us, that we would be pleased to grant unto them † an Enlargement of our said former Letters Patents, as well for a more ample Extent of their Limits and Territories into the Seas, adjoining to and upon the Coast of *Virginia*, as also for some other Matters and Articles, concerning the better Government of the said Company and Colony, in which Point our said former Letters Patents do not extend so far, as Time and Experience hath found to be needful and convenient:

IV. WE therefore, tendering the good and happy Success of the said Plantation, both in Regard of the general ‡ Weal of human Society, as in Respect of the Good of our own Estate and Kingdoms, and being willing to give Furtherance unto all good Means, that may advance the Benefit of the said * Company, and which may secure the Safety of our loving Subjects, planted in our said Colony under the Favour and Protection of God Almighty, and of our Royal Power and Authority, have therefore, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, given, granted, and confirmed, and for Us, our Heirs and Successors, we do, by these Presents, GIVE, GRANT, and CONFIRM, to the said Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of *London* for the first Colony in *Virginia*, and to their Heirs and Successors, for ever, all and singular those Islands whatsoever, situate and being in any Part of the Ocean Seas bordering upon the Coast of our said first Colony in *Virginia*, and being within three hundred Leagues of any the Parts heretofore granted to the said Treasurer and Company, in our said former Letters Patents, as aforesaid, and being within or between the one and fortieth and thirtieth Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude, Together with all and singular Soils, Lands, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, Mines, and Minerals, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Mines and Minerals, Pearls, Precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Preeminences, both within the said Tract of Land upon the Main, and also within the said Islands and Seas adjoining, whatsoever, and thereunto or thereabouts, both by Sea and Land, being or situate; And which, by our Letters Patents, we may or can grant, and in as ample Manner and Sort, as We, or any our noble Progenitors, have heretofore granted to any Person or Persons, or to any Company, Body politick or corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Discoveries, Plantations, or Traffick, of in or into any foreign Parts, whatsoever, and in as large and ample Manner, as if the

† and, M. S.

‡ M. S. *Wheel.** M. S. *Companies.*

same were herein particularly named, mentioned, and expressed : Provided always, that the said Islands, or any the Premises herein mentioned, or by these Presents intended or † meant to be granted, be not actually possessed or inhabited by any other *Christian* Prince or Estate, nor be within the Bounds, Limits, or Territories of the *Northern* Colony, heretofore by Us granted to be planted by divers of our loving Subjects, in the *North* Parts of *Virginia*. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, possess and enjoy, † all and singular the said Islands, in the said Ocean Seas so lying, and bordering upon the Coast and Coasts of the Territories of the said first Colony in *Virginia*, as aforesaid ; With all and singular the said Soils, Lands, and Grounds, and all and singular other the Premises, heretofore by these Presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to them, the said * Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of *London* for the first Colony in *Virginia*, and to their Heirs, Successors, and Assigns, for ever, to the sole and proper Use and Behoof of them, the said Treasurer and Company, and their Heirs, and Successors, and Assigns, for ever ; TO BE HOLDEN of us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor of *East-Greenwich*, in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite ; YIELDING AND PAYING therefore to Us, our Heirs, and Successors, the || fifth Part of the Ore of all Gold and Silver, which shall be there gotten, had, or obtained, for all Manner of Services whatsoever.

V. AND further, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do, by these Presents, GRANT AND CONFIRM, for the Good and Welfare of the said Plantation, and that Posterity may hereafter know, who have adventured and not been sparing of their Purves in such a noble and generous Action for the general Good of their Country, and at the Request, and with the Consent, of the Company aforesaid, that our trusty and well-beloved § Subjects, *George*, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Henry*, Earl of *Huntington*, *Edward*, Earl of *Bedford*, *Richard*, Earl of *Clanrickard*, &c. who since our said last Letters Patents are become Adventurers, and have joined themselves with the former Adventurers and Planters of the said Company and Society, shall, from henceforth, be reputed, deemed, and taken to be, and shall be Brethren and free Members of the Company, and shall and may, respectively, and according to the Proportion and Value of their several Adventures, HAVE, HOLD, and ENJOY all such Interest, Right, Title, Privileges, Preheminences, Liberties, Franchises, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities, whatsoever, in as large, and ample, and beneficial Manner, to all Intents, Constructions, and Purposes, as any other Adventurers, nominated and expressed in any our former Letters Patents, or any of them, have or may have, by Force and Virtue of these Presents, or any our former Letters Patents whatsoever.

† M. S. mean.

|| M. S. first.

† M. S. and and singular.

§ M. S. Subject.

* M. S. Treasurers.

VI. AND we are further pleased, and we do, by these Presents, GRANT AND CONFIRM, that *Philip*, Earl of *Montgomery*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *John Starrington*, Knt. &c. whom the said Treasurer and Company have, since the said last Letters Patents, nominated and set down, as worthy and discreet Persons, fit to serve us as Counsellors, to be of our Council for the said Plantation, shall be reputed, deemed, and taken, as Persons of our said Council for the said first Colony, in such Manner and Sort, to all Intents and Purposes, as those, who have been formerly elected and nominated, as our Counsellors for that Colony, and whose Names have been or are inserted and expressed, in our said former Letters Patents.

VII. AND We do hereby ORDAIN and GRANT, by these Presents, that the said Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters aforesaid, shall and may, once every Week, or oftener, at their Pleasure, hold and keep a Court and Assembly, for the better Order and Government of the said Plantation, and such things, as shall concern the same; And that any five Persons of our Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, for the time being, of which Company the Treasurer, or his Deputy, to be always one, and the Number of fifteen others, at the least, of the Generality of the said Company, assembled together in such Manner, as is and hath been heretofore used and accustomed, shall be said, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shall be a *sufficient Court* of the said Company, for the handling, and ordering, and dispatching of all such casual and particular Occurrences, and accidental Matters, of less Consequence and Weight, as shall, from time to time, happen, touching and concerning the said Plantation:

VIII. AND that nevertheless, for the handling, ordering, and disposing of Matters and Affairs of greater Weight and Importance, and such, as shall or may, in any Sort, concern the ‡ Weal Publick and general Good of the said Company and Plantation, as namely, the Manner of Government from time to time to be used, the Ordering and Disposing of the Lands and Possessions, and the Settling and Establishing of a Trade there, or such like, there shall be held and kept, every Year, upon the last *Wednesday*, save one, of *Hillary* Term, *Easter*, *Trinity*, and *Michaelmas* Terms, for ever, one great, general, and solemn Assembly, which four Assemblies shall be stiled and called, *The four Great and General Courts of the Council and Company of Adventurers for Virginia*; † In all and every of which said Great and General Courts, so assembled, our Will and Pleasure is, and we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, for ever, GIVE AND GRANT to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Presents, that they, the said Treasurer and Company, or the greater Number of them, so assembled, shall and may have full Power and Authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to elect and chuse discreet Persons, to be of our said

‡ M. S. *W*, with a Blank after it.

† M. S. *in and every*.

Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, and to nominate and appoint such Officers, as they shall think fit and requisite, for the Government, Managing, Ordering, and Dispatching of the Affairs of the said Company; And shall likewise have full Power and Authority, to ordain and make such Laws and Ordinances, for the Good and Welfare of the said Plantation, as to them, from time to time, shall be thought requisite and meet: *So always*, as the same be not contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this our Realm of *England*; And shall, in like Manner, * have Power and Authority, to expulse, disfranchise, and put, out of and from their said Company and Society, for ever, all and every such Person and Persons, as having either promised, or subscribed their Names, to become Adventurers to the said Plantation of the said first Colony in *Virginia*, † or having been nominated for Adventurers, in these or any other our Letters Patents, or having been otherwise admitted and nominated to be of the said Company, have nevertheless, either not put in any Adventure at all, for and towards the said Plantation, or else have refused and neglected, or shall refuse and neglect, to bring in his or their Adventure, by Word or Writing promised, within six Months after the same shall be so payable and due.

IX. AND whereas the Failing and not Payment of such Monies, as have been promised in Adventure for the Advancement of the said Plantation, hath been often by Experience found, to be dangerous and prejudicial to the same, and much to have hindered the Progress and Proceeding of the said Plantation, and for that it seemeth unto Us a thing reasonable, that such Persons, as by their Hand Writing have engaged themselves for the Payment of their Adventures, and afterwards neglecting their Faith and Promise, should be compelled to make good and keep the same; Therefore our Will and Pleasure is, that in any Suit or Suits, commenced or to be commenced, in any of our Courts at *Westminster*, or elsewhere, by the said Treasurer and Company, or otherwise, against any such Persons, that our Judges for the time being, both in our Court of Chancery and at the Common Pleas, do favour and further the said Suits, so far forth as Law and Equity will, in any wise, further and permit.

X. AND we do, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, further GIVE AND GRANT to the said Treasurer and Company, or their Successors, for ever, that they, the said Treasurer and Company, or the greater Part of them, for the time being, so in a full and general Court assembled, as aforesaid, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, elect, choose, and admit into their Company and Society, any Person or Persons, as well Strangers ‡ and Aliens, born in any Part beyond the Seas wheresoever, being in Amity with us, as our natural Leige-Subjects, born in any our Realms and Dominions; And that all such Persons, so elected, chosen, and admitted to be of the said Company, as aforesaid, shall thereupon be taken, reputed, and held,

* M. S. *have and Authority.*† M. S. *of.*‡ M. S. *as.*

A third Charter of K. *James I.* to the Treasurer

and shall be, free Members of the said Company, and shall have, hold, and enjoy all and singular Freedoms, Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, Immunities, Benefits, Profits, and Commodities, whatsoever, to the said Company in any Sort belonging or appertaining, as fully, freely, and amply, as any other Adventurers, now being, or which hereafter at any time shall be of the said Company, hath, have, shall, may, might, or ought to have and enjoy the same, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

XI. AND we do further, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Presents, that it shall be lawful and free, for them and their Assigns, at all and every time and times hereafter, out of any our Realms and Dominions whatsoever, to take, lead, carry, and transport, in and into the said Voyage, and for and towards the said Plantation of our said first Colony in *Virginia*, all such and so many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers, that will become our loving Subjects and live under our Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany them in the said Voyages and Plantation; With Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Victuals, and all Manner of Merchandises and Wares, and all Manner of Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Beasts, Cattle, Horses, Mares and all other things necessary for the said Plantation, and for their Use and Defence, and for Trade with the People there, and in passing and returning to and from, without paying or yielding any Subsidy, Custom, or Imposition, either inward or outward, or any other Duty, to Us, our Heirs, or Successors, for the same, for the Space of seven Years from the Date of these Presents.

XII. AND we do further, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, by these Presents, that the said Treasurer of that Company, or his Deputy, for the time being, or any two other of the said Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, for the time being, or any two other at all times hereafter, and from time to time, have full Power and Authority, to minister and give the Oath and Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, or either of them, to all and every Person and Persons, which shall, at any time or times hereafter, go or pass to the said Colony in *Virginia*:

XIII. AND further, that it shall be lawful likewise for the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, for the time being, or any two or others of our said Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, for the time being, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to minister such a formal Oath, as by their Discretion shall be reasonably devised, as well unto any Person or Persons, employed in, for, or touching the said Plantation, for their honest, faithful, and just Discharge of their Service, in all such Matters, as shall be committed unto them for the Good and Benefit of the said Company, Colony, and Plantation; As also, unto such other Person or Persons, as the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, with
two

two others of the said Council, shall think meet, for the Examination or clearing of the Truth, in any Cause whatsoever concerning the said Plantation, or any Business, from thence proceeding, or thereunto belonging.

XIV. AND furthermore, whereas we have been certified, that divers lewd and ill-disposed Persons, both Sailers, Soldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, Labourers, and others, having received Wages, * Apparel, and other Entertainment from the said Company, or having contracted and agreed with the said Company, to go, or to serve, or to be employed in the said Plantation of the said first Colony in *Virginia*, have afterwards, either withdrawn, hid, or concealed themselves, or have refused to go thither, after they have been so entertained and agreed withal; And that divers and sundry Persons also, which have been sent and employed in the said Plantation of the said first Colony in *Virginia*, at and upon the Charge of the said Company, and having there misbehaved themselves by Mutinies, Sedition, or other notorious Misdemeanors, or having been employed or sent abroad, by the Governor of *Virginia* or his Deputy, with some Ship or Pinnace, for our Provision of the said Colony, or for some Discovery, or other Business and Affairs, concerning the same, have from thence most treacherously, either come back again and returned into our Realm of *England*, by Stealth, or without Licence of our Governor of our said Colony in *Virginia* for the time being, or have been sent hither, as Misdoers and Offenders; And that many also of those Persons, after their Return from thence, having been questioned by our said Council here, for such their Misbehaviors and Offences, by their insolent and contemptuous Carriage in the Presence of our said Council, have shewed little Respect and Reverence, either to the Place, or Authority, in which we have placed and appointed them; And others, for the colouring of their Lewdness and Misdemeanors committed in *Virginia*, have endeavoured, by most vile and slanderous Reports, made and divulged, as well of the Country of *Virginia*, as also of the Government and Estate of the said Plantation and Colony, as much as in them lay, to bring the said Voyage and Plantation into Disgrace and Contempt; By Means whereof, not only the Adventurers and Planters, already engaged in the said Plantation, have been exceedingly abused and hindered, and a great Number of other our loving and well-disposed Subjects, otherwise well-affected, and inclined to join and adventure in so noble, christian, and worthy an Action, have been discouraged from the same, but also the utter Overthrow and Ruin of the said Enterprize hath been greatly endangered, which cannot miscarry without some Dishonour to Us and our Kingdom;

XV. Now, forasmuch as it appeareth unto us, that these Insolences, Misdemeanors, and Abuses, not to be tolerated in any civil Government, have, for the most part, grown and proceeded, in regard our said Council have not any direct Power and

* M. S. *Appell an other.*

A third Charter of K. *James* I. to the Treasurer

Authority, by any expresse Words in our former Letters Patents, to correct and chastise such Offenders; We therefore, for the more speedy Reformation of so great and enormous Abuses and Misdemeanors, heretofore practised and committed, and for the preventing of the like hereafter, do, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, GIVE AND GRANT to the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, that it shall and may be lawful for our said Council for the said first Colony in *Virginia*, or any two of them (whereof the said Treasurer, or his Deputy, for the time being, to be always one) by Warrant under their Hands, to send for, or to cause to be apprehended, all and every such Person and Persons, who shall be noted, or accused, or found, at any time or times hereafter, to offend, or misbehave themselves, in any the Offences before mentioned and expressed; And upon the Examination of any such Offender or Offenders, and just Proof made by Oath, taken before the said Council, of any such notorious Misdemeanors by them committed, as aforesaid; And also upon any insolent, and contemptuous, or indecent Carriage and Misbehaviour, to or against our said Council, shewed or used by any such Person or Persons, so called, convicted, and appearing before them, as aforesaid; That in all such Cases, they, our said Council, or any two of them, for the time being, shall and may have full Power and Authority, either here to bind them over with good Sureties for their good Behaviour, and further therein to proceed, to all Intents and Purposes, as it is used, in other like Cases, within our Realm of *England*; Or else, at their Discretions, to remand and send them back, the said Offenders, or any of them, unto the said Colony in *Virginia*, there to be proceeded against and punished, as the Governor, Deputy, or Council there, for the time being, shall think meet; or otherwise, according to such Laws and Ordinances, as are and shall be in Use there, for the Well-ordering and good Government of the said Colony.

XVI. AND for the more effectual Advancing of the said Plantation, we do further, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, of our especial Grace and Favour, by Virtue of our Prerogative Royal, and by the Assent and Consent of the Lords and others of our Privy Council, GIVE and GRANT, unto the said Treasurer and Company, full Power and Authority, free Leave, Liberty, and Licence, to set forth, erect, and publish, one or more Lottery or Lotteries, to have Continuance, and to endure and be held, for the Space of our whole Year, next after the Opening of the same; And after the End and Expiration of the said Term, the said Lottery or Lotteries to continue and be further kept, during our Will and Pleasure only, and not otherwise. And yet nevertheless, we are contented and pleased, for the Good and Welfare of the said Plantation, that the said Treasurer and Company shall, for the Dispatch and Finishing of the said Lottery or Lotteries, have six Months Warning after the said Year ended, before our Will and Pleasure shall, for and on that Behalf, be construed, deemed, and adjudged, to be in any wise altered and determined.

XVII.

XVII. AND our further Will and Pleasure is, that the said Lottery and Lotteries shall and may be opened and held, within our City of *London*, or in any other City or Town, or elsewhere, within this our Realm of *England*, with such Prizes, Articles, Conditions, and Limitations, as to them, the said Treasurer and Company, in their Discretions, shall seem convenient :

XVIII. AND that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Treasurer and Company, to elect and choose Receivers, Auditors, Surveyors, Commissioners, or any other Officers whatsoever, at their Will and Pleasure, for the better marshalling, disposing, guiding, and governing of the said Lottery and Lotteries ; And that it shall likewise be lawful, to and for the said Treasurer and any two of the said Council, to minister to all and every such Person, so elected and chosen for Officers, as aforesaid, one or more Oaths, for their good Behaviour, just and true Dealing, in and about the said Lottery or Lotteries, to the Intent and Purpose, that none of our loving Subjects, putting in their Names, or otherwise adventuring in the said general Lottery or Lotteries, may be, in any wise, defrauded and deceived of their said Monies, or evil and indirectly dealt withal in their said Adventures.

XIX. AND we further GRANT, in Manner and Form aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Treasurer and Company, under the Seal of our said Council for the Plantation, to publish, or to cause and procure to be published, by Proclamation or otherwise (the said Proclamation to be made in their Name, by Virtue of these Presents) the said Lottery or Lotteries, in all Cities, Towns, Burroughs, and other Places, within our said Realm of *England* ; And we Will and Command all † Mayors, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers and loving Subjects, whatsoever, that, in no wise, they hinder or delay the Progress and Proceedings of the said Lottery or Lotteries, but be therein, touching the Premises, aiding and assisting, by all honest, good, and lawful Means and Endeavours.

XX. AND further, our Will and Pleasure is, that in all Questions and Doubts, that shall arise, upon any Difficulty † of Construction or Interpretation of any thing, contained in these, or any other our former Letters Patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial Manner for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every Member thereof.

XXI. AND lastly, we do, by these Presents, RATIFY AND CONFIRM unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, all and all Manner of Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, Immunities, Preheminences, Profits, and Commodities, whatsoever, granted unto them in any our former Letters Patents, and not in these Presents revoked, altered, changed, or abridged. ALTHOUGH express Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any

† M. S. Mayor.

† M. S. or.
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The Company's Charter for a Council

other Gift or Grant, by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Treasurer and Company heretofore made, in these Presents is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary thereof heretofore made, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause, or thing, whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

IN WITNESS whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness Ourself, at *Westminster*, the twelfth Day of *March*, in the ninth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the five and fortieth.

N^o. IV.

An Ordinance and Constitution of the Treasurer, Council, and Company in England, for a Council of State and General Assembly. Dated July 24, 1621.

I. **T**O all People, to whom these Presents shall come, be seen, or heard, The Treasurer, Council, and Company of Adventurers and Planters for the City of *London* for the first Colony of *Virginia*, send Greeting. KNOW YE, that we, the said Treasurer, Council, and Company, taking into our careful Consideration the present State of the said Colony of *Virginia*, and intending, by the Divine Assistance, to settle such a Form of Government there, as may be to the greatest Benefit and Comfort of the People, and whereby all Injustice, Grievances, and Oppression may be prevented and kept off as much as possible from the said Colony, have thought fit to make our Entrance, by ordering and establishing such Supreme Councils, as may not only be assisting to the Governor for the time being, in the Administration of Justice, and the Executing of other Duties to this Office belonging, but also, by their vigilant Care and Prudence, may provide, as well for a Remedy of all Inconveniences, growing from time to time, as also for advancing of Increase, Strength, Stability, and Prosperity of the said Colony:

II. WE therefore, the said Treasurer, Council, and Company, * by Authority directed to us from his Majesty under the Great Seal, upon mature Deliberation, do hereby order and declare, that, from hence forward, there shall be TWO SUPREME COUNCILS in *Virginia*, for the better Government of the said Colony aforesaid.

III. THE one of which Councils, to be called THE COUNCIL OF STATE (and whose Office shall chiefly be assisting, with their Care, Advice, and Circumspection, to the said Governor) shall be chosen, nominated, placed, and displaced, from time to

* Vide Sect. XIV. and XXIII. of the second Charter, and Sect. VIII. of the third.

time, by Us, the said Treasurer, Council, and Company, and our Successors: Which Council of State shall consist, for the present, only of these Persons, as are here inserted, *viz.* Sir Francis Wyat, † Governor of Virginia, Captain Francis West, Sir George Yeardley, Knight, Sir William Neuce, Knight Marshal of Virginia, Mr. George Sandys, Treasurer, Mr. George † Thorpe, Deputy of the College, Captain Thomas Neuce, Deputy for the Company, Mr. Pawlet, Mr. Leech, Captain Nathaniel Powel, Mr. Christopher Davison, Secretary, Doctor Potts, Physician to the Company, Mr. Roger Smith, Mr. John Berkeley, Mr. John Rolfe, Mr. Ralph Hamer, Mr. John * Pountis, Mr. Michael Lapworth, Mr. Harwood, Mr. Samuel Macock. Which said Counsellors and Council we earnestly pray and desire, and in his Majesty's Name strictly charge and command, that (all Factions, Partialities, and sinister Respect laid aside) they bend their Care and Endeavours to assist the said Governor; first and principally, in the Advancement of the Honour and Service of God, and the Enlargement of his Kingdom amongst the Heathen People; and next, in erecting of the said Colony in due Obedience to his Majesty, and all lawful Authority from his Majesty's Directions; and lastly, in maintaining the said People in Justice and Christian Conversation amongst themselves, and in Strength and Ability to withstand their Enemies. And this Council, to be always, or for the most Part, residing about or near the Governor.

IV. THE other Council, more generally to be called by the Governor, once Yearly, and no § oftener, but for || very extraordinary and important Occasions, shall consist, ** for the present, of the said Council of State, and of two Burgeses out of every Town, Hundred, or other particular Plantation, to be respectively chosen by the Inhabitants: Which Council shall be called THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, wherein (as also in the said Council of State) all Matters shall be decided, determined, and ordered, by the greater Part of the Voices then present; reserving to the Governor always a Negative Voice. And this General Assembly shall have free Power to treat, consult, and conclude, as well of all emergent Occasions concerning the Publick Weal of the said Colony and every Part thereof, as also to make, ordain, and enact such general Laws and Orders, for the Behoof of the said Colony, and the good Government thereof, as shall, from time to time, appear necessary or requisite;

V. WHEREAS in all other Things, we require the said General Assembly, as also the said Council of State, to imitate and follow

† It is to be noted, that the Governor is always inserted in the old Commissions, as a Part, and the Head of the Council of State.

† M. S. *Thorne*; but as I am perfectly well acquainted with these Names and Persons, by perusing the ancient Records, I shall take the Liberty of correcting the Errors of the Transcriber.

* M. S. *Downtus*.

§ M. S. *officer*.

|| M. S. *very and extraordinary important*; which likewise makes Sense, taking *extraordinary* adverbially.

** M. S. *for present*.

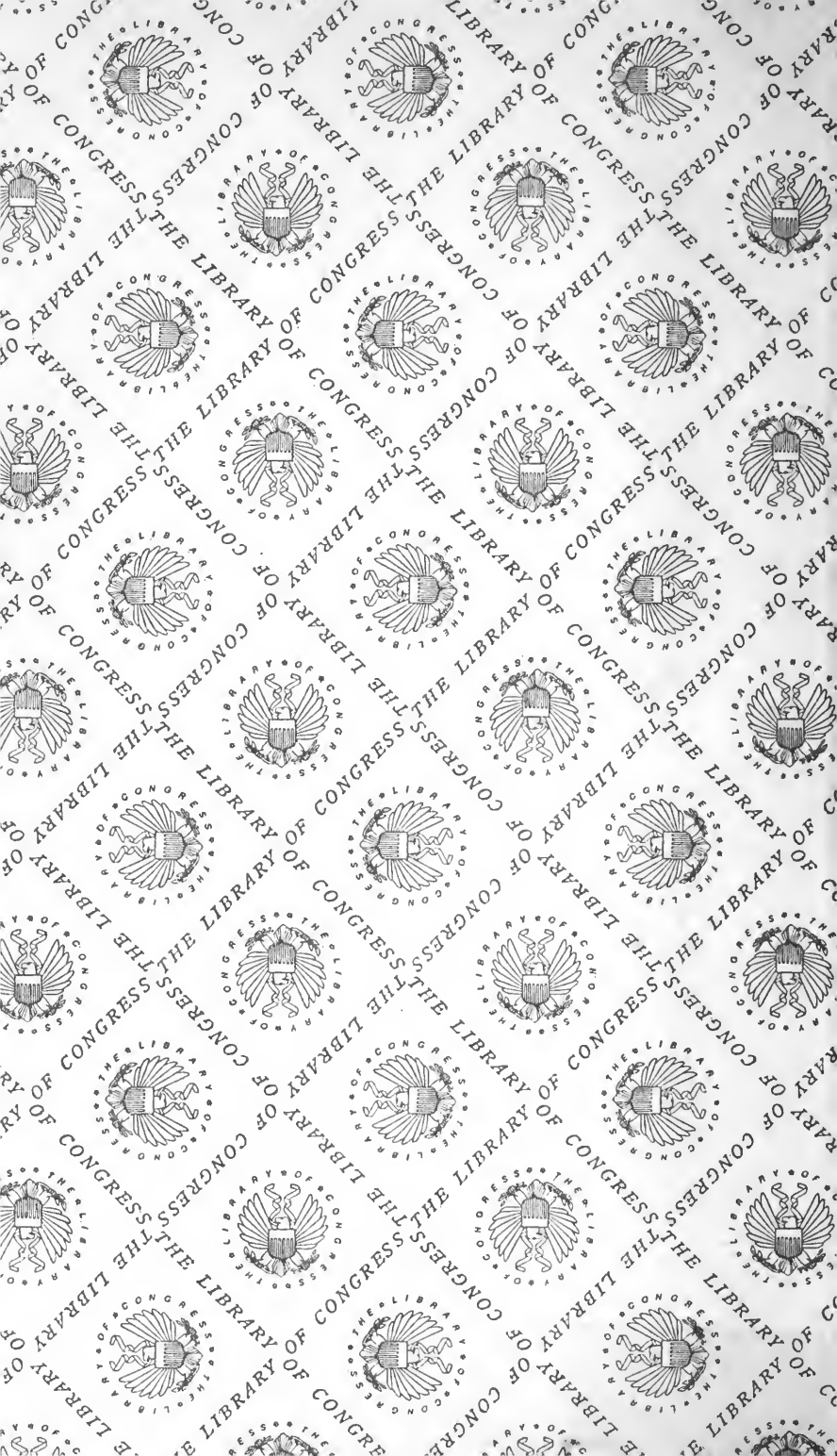
the Policy of the Form of Government, Laws, Customs, and Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in the Realm of *England*, as near as may be, even as ourselves, by his Majesty's Letters Patent, are required.

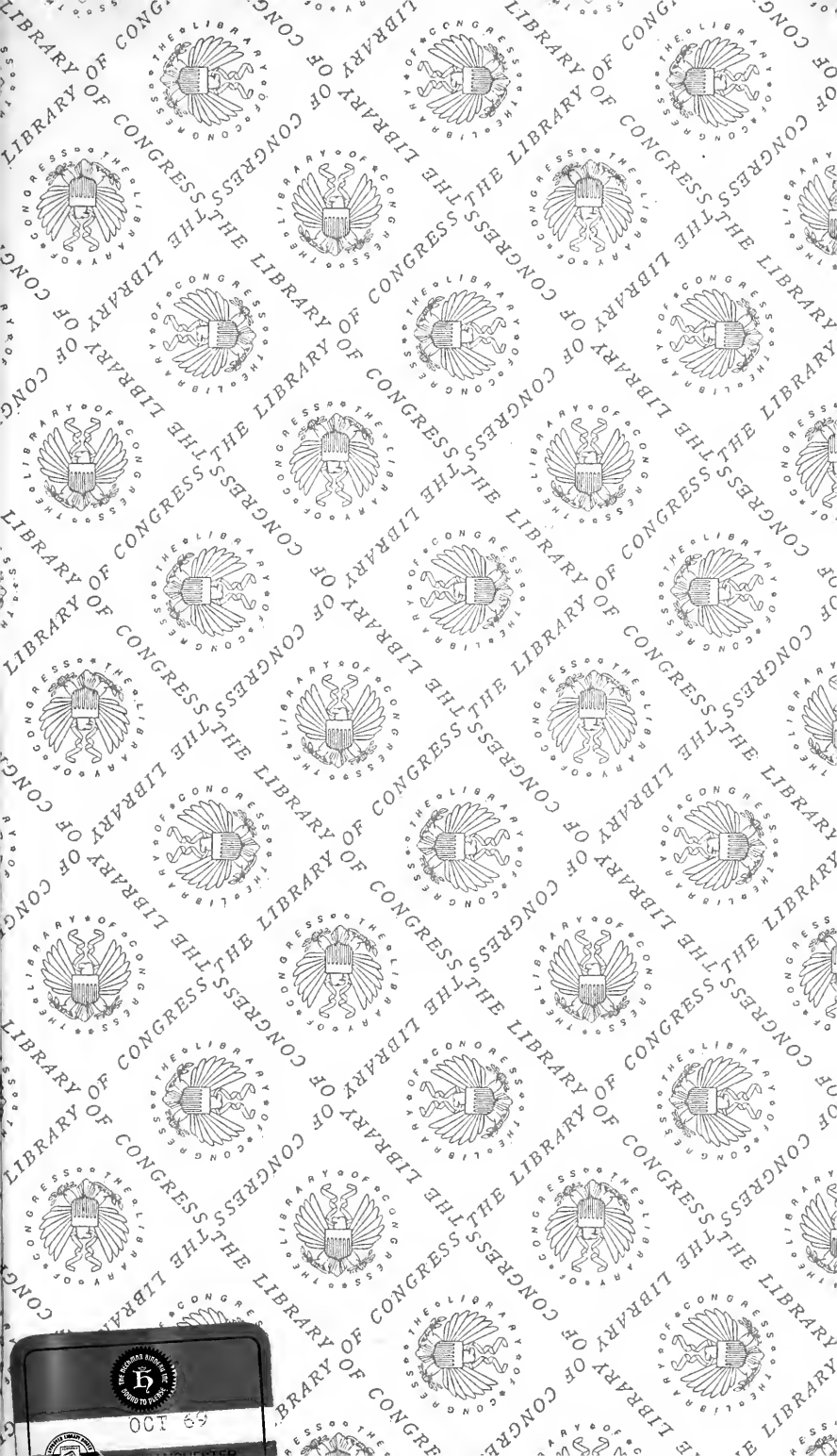
VI. PROVIDED, that no Law or Ordinance, made in the said General Assembly, shall be or continue in Force or Validity, unless the same shall be solemnly ratified and confirmed, in a General Quarter Court of the said * Company here in *England*, and so ratified, be returned to them under our Seal; It being our Intent to afford the like Measure also unto the said Colony, that after the Government of the said Colony shall once have been well framed, and settled accordingly, which is to be done by Us, as by Authority derived from his Majesty, and the same shall have been so by us declared, no Orders of Court afterwards shall bind the said Colony, unless they be ratified in like Manner in the General Assemblies. IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto set our Common Seal, the 24th of *July* 1621, and in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *JAMES*, King of *England* &c. the **** and of *Scotland* the ****.

* M. S. Court.









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